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GREGOROVIVS'
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VII.—PART II.

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HISTORY
OF
THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

BY
FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS

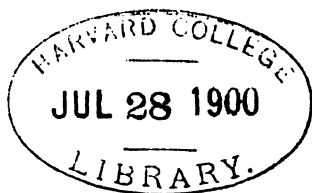
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ERRATA.

- Page 428, line 8 in heading of section, for *Joanna* read *Charlotte*.
,, 495, ,, 5 from bottom, for *killed* read *defeated*.
,, 498, ,, 11, for *Guidobaldo* read *Giovanni*.
,, 543, ,, 16, for Cardinal *John* read *Jordan*.
,, 555, ,, 6 from bottom, for Simone Nicolai of *Lucca* read *de Luca*.
,, 664, ,, 12, after 1439, insert S. Onofrio.
,, 685, ,, 4, for Cardinal *Olivieri*, read *Oliviero Caraffa*.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME FROM
1497 TO 1503.

CHAPTER V.

- I. CONDITION OF ITALY AFTER THE EXPEDITION OF CHARLES VIII.—MAXIMILIAN'S UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN AGAINST FLORENCE—ALEXANDER VI. BEGINS THE WAR AGAINST THE TYRANTS IN THE STATE OF THE CHURCH—WAR WITH THE ORSINI—THE PAPAL TROOPS DEFEATED AT SORIANO, JANUARY 1497—PEACE WITH THE ORSINI—DEATH OF VIRGINIUS ORSINI—GONSALVO CONQUERS OSTIA—GIOVANNI SFORZA ESCAPES FROM ROME—JUAN OF GANDIA BECOMES DUKE OF BENEVENTO—HIS MURDER, JUNE 14, 1497—IMPRESSION LEFT ON THE POPE BY THE EVENT—ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE MURDER—CAESAR BORGIA GOES AS LEGATE TO NAPLES AND CROWNS FEDERIGO—HE RETURNS TO ROME.

THE victorious enterprise of Charles VIII. compelled the great powers to form a league,—the first of European character,—from which amid tedious wars modern states gradually took their form. The Spanish house of the Habsburgs and France came prominently to the front, while Italy, still as a consequence of the facts and principles of the Middle Ages, remained the object and reward of the great struggle.

The French King had left Italy involved in the greatest turbulence. The country was severed into

two parties: the league between Rome, Milan and Venice, which was supported by the two great powers, and the French party, to which Savoy, Montferrat, Ferrara, Florence and Bologna, the Orsini and the Prefect of the city belonged. All existing conditions were consequently shaken. The dynasty of Aragon could no longer feel secure in Naples, where it had already summoned Spain and Venice to its aid. Florence, which had lost Pisa and other cities, was threatened with the return and despotism of the Medici, and Ludovico Sforza must inevitably perish in the storm which he himself had evoked. No less convulsed was the State of the Church, which however in the Papacy possessed a power of recuperation and endurance. The republic of Venice was still the one great power in all Italy, and Venice now hoped to obtain dominion throughout the peninsula. In return for her services to the house of Aragon she had received possession of Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli and Otranto.

The war with the French viceroys in Naples was not yet ended in the summer of 1496, and Charles VIII. talked of his return to Italy.¹ In fear the allies enticed Henry VII. into their league, to which the adhesion of England gave the aspect of a European alliance.² The Pope also sought protection from the imperial power. He now wished to crown

¹ On January 21, 1496, he wrote from Lyons to the city of Foligno that he would soon return. The original letter is preserved in the archives of Foligno. Likewise to the Prefectissa, Amboise, March 5, 1496, *Diar. Sanuto*, i. 47.

² Announcement of the Alliance in Rome on July 31: Burkard. See Carl Lanz, *Mon. Habsb.*, Vienna, 1857, Intro., vol. i. 38.

Maximilian emperor; on July 6 he appointed Carvajal legate for the coronation. The King of the Romans came, he said, as advocate of the Church, to drive away the French, who still retained possession of Ostia and some places in Naples, to take the imperial crown, to bring peace to Italy, and finally to undertake the war against the Turks.¹

Maximilian accepted the invitation of Italy, whither he was summoned as Messias, like so many emperors before him. He came in August without an army and without money. His hopes of obtaining both from the allies proved vain. Trusting neither in the Pope nor the Sforza, he refused to go to Milan, although preparations had already been made there for his coronation as King of Lombardy. He received Carvajal and the Duke Ludovico at Crema, then journeyed to Genoa, thence to proceed to Tuscany.² For Pisa, which had received Venetian and Milanese auxiliaries, sent him an urgent summons, and he himself hoped to regain this ancient Ghibelline city for the empire. Her struggle for the recovery of her freedom had been so heroic and important, that she now, so to speak, represented the political centre of gravity for all powers. On

Maximilian
in Italy,
1496.

¹ Brief, Rome, July 6, 1496, Rayn., n. 4. Carvajal left with Burkard on July 29. As early as January 10 the Nuncio Leonello de Cheregatis had complained before Maximilian in Augsburg of the occupation of Rome by Charles VIII., and had demanded aid from the Empire. See his speech in the MS. diary of Sanuto, L. 14.

² He came to Genoa on September 28, and dwelt with Cardinal Julian. In the Cathedral he was shown the Holy Grail, *catinus Christi*.—Burkard.

the other side the republic of Florence staked her last forces in trying to reconquer Pisa; but her struggles were to prove her own death throes.

He re-
turns to
Germany,
Dec. 1496.

When Maximilian appeared at Pisa at the end of October with scarcely 3000 men, he found nothing but jealousy and contention among his allies. He besieged Leghorn without success; his vessels were destroyed by a storm, and as early as the end of the year 1496 he returned to Germany without honour or glory and deeply incensed against Venice.¹

Virginus
Orsini in
the service
of France.

Meanwhile Alexander strove to turn the Neapolitan restoration to the advantage of his domestic policy. The second and terrible period of his pontificate dates from this time. If he had hitherto erred from irresolution and apathy, he now entered on a more active career. He adopted the policy of Vitelleschi and Sixtus IV., and this he did for reasons that are perfectly intelligible. His iniquity lies solely in the aims by which he was impelled. It was necessary to rid the State of the Church of the barons, first of all of the Orsini, in order that the Borgia family might be enriched with their property. Virginus, the head of the house, had first been Charles's prisoner at Naples, had then escaped at the Taro, and had afterwards entered the service of the Medici. Virginus himself, his sons John Jordan and the bastard Charles, the young Bartolommeo d'Alviano, a member of the house of the Atti near Todi, and other Orsini nobles, contrary to the wishes of the Pope, had then

¹ Camillo Gilini, *De Maximil. Caes. in Italiam adventu*, Freher, iii. 91. Sanuto, p. 36.

taken pay from Charles VIII. They staked their fortunes on those of the French army in Naples, while as soon as Ferdinand recovered possession of his capital, their hereditary enemies, the Colonna, joined the side of Aragon.¹ When in August 1496 Montpensier now laid down his arms at Atella, Ferdinand II. included Virginius in the capitulation also, but at the Pope's desire kept him a prisoner as a rebel against the Church. John Jordan and Alviano had also been taken prisoners in the Abruzzi. Their capture facilitated the design of Alexander, who cherished an ancient grudge against the house of Orsini for having driven his brother Peter from Rome on the death of Calixtus III. He had already confiscated all their property in June 1496. With these possessions he intended to enrich his son Don Juan, the Duke of Gandia, who, summoned by him, had returned from Spain in August of the same year. Alexander determined to make this incompetent man lord of the Patrimony, and also to bestow upon him Ostia, Corneto and Civita Vecchia. In September 1496 he therefore deprived Alessandro Farnese of the legation of the Patrimony and conferred the government of this territory and that of Viterbo on his son²; whom with

¹ Charles VIII. therefore, *ob rebellionem Fabricii de Columna*, restored Tagliacozzo and Alba to Virginius. *Taurini die XX. Oct. 1495. Anno I. Regni Siciliae.* Orsini Archives, T. 131, n. 3. Extract from the documents of the Archives of Bracciano.

² Despatches of Joh. Carolus Scalonus, agent of Mantua, Rome, September 13 and 17, 1496 (Gonzaga Archives). Of Cardinal Farnese, he says: *quale e rimasto casso, sel ritorno proximo di M^{ma} Julia non lo adjuta.* What he writes on September 13 is worthy of

great solemnity he made Standard-bearer of the Church on October 26. And having taken Guidobaldo of Urbino into his service, he entrusted the war against the Orsini to the charge of these two captains, to whom he gave Cardinal Lunate as legate.¹

On October 27 the papal troops entered the Patrimony, where the Orsini held their hereditary possessions.² Fabrizio Colonna and Antoniello Savelli readily joined them as instruments of the Pope. The Orsini immediately surrendered Anguillara, Galera, Sutri and other places, but retained Bracciano, which was strongly protected by the lake.³ Bracciano was bravely defended by Alviano, who had escaped from his imprisonment, and his Amazon

remark: *Et per far che questi figli del papa non se habino invidia adesso se dubita de la vita del Carle Sto Georgio; del quale succedendo la morte: Valentino haverà il Camerlengato: il palazzo che altrevolte fu della bon. mem. del Carle di Mantua che è hora il più bello di Roma: et il meglio de beneficii soi: per il che V. Ex. può pensare quanto la fortuna spira ad questi Marani.* Caesar's jealousy of his brother was already notorious.

¹ Burkard. Guidobaldo came to Rome on October 23. In the same month the Venetian ambassador announced that a son had been born to the Pope by a Roman woman, whose father had acted as pander to Alexander. The deceived husband murdered his father-in-law and was exiled by the Pope. Diar. of M. Sanuto, i. 258. Concerning the war with the Orsini: Baldi, *Vita di Guidobaldo*, i. lib. 5.

² Sigism. de' Conti, *Hist.*, xii. 165, enumerates the following as fortresses of the Orsini: Isola, Scrofanè, Galera, Formello, Campagnano, Bracciano, Anguillara, Trevignane, Cere and Palo.

³ The oldest document that mentions Bracciano is one of March 10, 1234, act. in *Monte Arsicio*. Therein: *Landulfus fil. quond. Gottifred. Prefecti et Jofredus Amator. . . . Dom. de Brachiano et de S. Pupa*. Bracciano belonged to the Prefects. Orsini Archives, T. 97 F. n. 44.

wife, Bartolommea, sister of Virginus. The troops of the Orsini not only defeated the papal forces, but scoured the country as far as Rome, and Alviano's cavalry almost succeeded in arresting Cardinal Caesar at Monte Mario. The besieged soon received succour; for Carlo Orsini and Vitellozzo, the tyrant of Città di Castello, both in the service of France, returned from Provence, collected an army and forced the papal troops to advance against them. These troops were utterly defeated on January 23, 1497; the Duke of Urbino was taken prisoner, Gandia was wounded, and Cardinal Lunate fled in such haste, that the exertion caused his death.¹ The papal troops dispersed in wild confusion.

The papal army defeated at Soriano, Jan. 23, 1497.

This splendid victory rejoiced all the enemies of the Borgias. The Orsini were now masters of Tuscany; they extended their hands to the French garrison, which lay in Ostia, under command of the Biscayan corsair Monaldo de Guerra. The aged Virginus however was not alive to share the triumph of his house; on January 18, while in prison at Naples, he had been carried off by fever or poison. The monument of this celebrated man is the Castle of Campagnano, which he built about 1490. The Pope, filled with humiliation and anger, now summoned Gonsalvo and Prospero Colonna from Naples to his aid; the Venetian ambassadors however

Death of Virginus Orsini, Jan. 18, 1497.

¹ He died, 45 years old, August 8, 1497. Epitaph from S. M. del Popolo in Schrader, *Monum. Italiae*, Helmstedt, 1592, p. 159, and in Forcella, i. 328.—In the Gonzaga Archives are preserved the despatches of John Carolus and other agents, who describe all these events, the battle, the capture of the duke and all the negotiations.

induced him to make peace, from which the Orsini issued victorious. In virtue of the treaty of February 5, 1497, they paid the Pope 50,000 gold florins, but retained their estates and were allowed to remain in the pay of France. The sons of Virginius, liberated at Naples, returned to Bracciano on April 22, and gave their father solemn burial at Cervetri.¹ So callous was Alexander that he did nothing for the imprisoned Guidobaldo, but himself appropriated the money which the duke had paid for his release from the Orsini.² Guidobaldo was childless; the Borgia already contemplated becoming his heirs, and Federigo's son thus expiated the error his father had committed in entering their service.

Gonsalvo
forces
Ostia to
surrender.

Thus the first attempt of the Pope to annihilate one of the great factions of the nobility entirely failed. He reserved his vengeance on these nobles for a later date. Meanwhile Gonsalvo came to Rome in Lent to take Ostia for the Pope. He was received with solemnity, and rode to the Vatican between Gandia and Giovanni da Pesaro. Ostia at once capitulated; on Gonsalvo's return to Rome he was preceded by Monaldo in chains. Joyfully

¹ Burkard—Chigi.

² 40,000 ducats in instalments. Guidobaldo was kept at Soriano, afterwards at Poggio Mirteto. Despatches of the Mantuan agent, Benedictus de Brugiis, of March and April 1497, from Soriano (Gonzaga Archives).—The registers of the revenues of the Patrimony of Peter have been preserved for the years 1497, 1498 (in the present State Archives in Rome). The treasurer there was the Banker Alessandro Francii of Siena. Cities and clergy had to pay yearly subsidies—for example, Viterbo, 1000 ducats; Orvieto, 479; Narni, 750; Corneto, 600. The ducat stood at 72 bolognini or soldi.

the Pope hastened to enter the fortress of the hated Cardinal Julian, and so important did its conquest appear that he loaded Gonsalvo with honours. The haughty Spaniard declined to take the Easter palm from the hands of the Pope, unwilling to receive it after the Duke of Gandia; he accepted however the Golden Rose, a gift worthy of kings. This flower, perfumed with musk, the most graceful symbol of the Christian cult, represents the purity of virtue, with the fragrance of which the Church should be filled. But in the hands of the Borgia it could appear nothing more than the symbol of pagan pleasures. The candid soldier upbraided the Pope for the corruption of the Curia and his own vicious life, and exhorted him to reform. Never had Alexander experienced a keener humiliation. He was already bitterly hated in Rome, where the insolent dominion of the Catalans was revived. Only his 3000 Spanish mercenaries sufficed to keep the people in check. On Good Friday a preliminary riot took place; the Romans entrenched themselves on the Campo di Fiore; the cardinals at length soothed their irritation against the Spaniards and the Spanish pope.¹ The Cardinal of Gurk, who had gone to Perugia, said to the Florentine envoy at this time: "When I think of the life of the Pope and the lives of some of the cardinals, I shudder at the thought of remaining in the Curia; I

¹ Pilgrimage of the knight Arnold of Harff of Cologne, edited by Groote, Cologne, 1860, p. 33: *Die Romanen hetten den paps mit bestain doyt so slayn, so verhasst was he so deser szyt mit sinen frunden den Hispanioler.* The knight was in Rome at Easter, 1497.

will have nothing to do with it, unless God reforms his Church."¹

The same Eastertide Giovanni Sforza, Lucrezia's husband, fled from Rome to escape the dangers that threatened him; for already the Pope had decided to annul this marriage of his daughter also. The intrigues, the crimes, the tragedies of the house of Borgia now began, and were set in motion by a single man; by Caesar, who now stood secretly behind the scene on which he soon openly appeared.

Deluded in his hopes of equipping Gandia with the spoils of the Orsini, the Pope determined to enrich him at the expense of the Church. The young Borgia at this time possessed the entire affection of his father; Alexander intended bestowing every earthly splendour on his son.² On June 7 he invested him with Benevento as a hereditary duchy as well as Terracina and Pontecorvo. These were to be the steps to still higher honours in Naples. Out of twenty-seven cardinals, Piccolomini alone ventured to dissent, the others yielded to the will of the Pope. For after the restoration the partisans of France had been forced to a reconciliation with Alexander; the Colonna and Savelli adhered to him; Ascanio had made approaches; Orsini was powerless; Julian and Gurk dwelt in exile. In February 1496, moreover, Alexander had

The Duke
of Gandia
invested
with
Benevento.

¹ Alessandro Braccio to the *X. di Balii*, Perugia, April 8, 1497, Florentine Archives, Cl. X., Dist. 4. n. 46.

² He called himself henceforward *Dux Gandiae et Suesse ac Princeps Theani*, and thus signs himself in a letter to the Marquis of Mantua, on September 12, 1496: Gonzaga Archives.

introduced four Spaniards from Valencia into the College: Martini, de Castro, Lopez, and Juan Borgia, his sister's son.

Two days after Gandia's investiture he appointed Caesar as legate for Naples, where he was to go to crown Federigo. The two brothers, the cardinal and the duke, were to journey thither together in the beginning of July and return in September. Gandia was afterwards to go to Spain and take with him his sister Lucrezia, whose marriage with Pesaro the Pope intended to dissolve.¹ Did the two brothers weigh their fortunes one against the other, that of Gandia must have appeared enviable in Caesar's eyes. It was only with reluctance that Caesar himself had entered the clerical profession.² If, as cardinal, he possessed immense influence and accumulated wealth, yet, as bastard of a pope, he could never occupy the Chair of Peter. The Duke of Benevento on the contrary might dream of founding a dynasty, or even of acquiring the throne of Naples. He now received the homage of Rome on account of his new dignity, of which he made great parade. But in the course of seven days a

¹ *Ritornato poi il prefato Ducha qua, se transferira in spagna dove condurra la sorella maritata in pesaro, perche se spera de divortio al qual Nos. Sig. è molto inclinato*: Joh. Carolus to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, June 7, 1497: Gonzaga Archives.

² The Duke of Sermoneta, in Rome, possesses a sword of Caesar Borgia, which is decorated with engraved figures in allusion to Caesar, and shows the ideas cherished by the Cardinal. It bears the inscription: *Caesar Borgia Card. Valent.*, and further: *Cum numine Caesaris Omen*. The well-known Abbate Galiani brought it from Spain to Rome, where it was acquired by the Gaetani.

terrible fate put an end to all. Of the interest which the world took in the tragedy that befell an accursed house a trace still lingers in the memory of history, and, even though the death of an unimportant man fails to evoke the sympathy excited by the fate of Germanicus, it has nevertheless acquired celebrity as a tragic mystery of the most infamous times of the Borgia.

Murder of
the Duke
of Gandia,
June 14,
1497.

On June 14, 1497, Caesar, his brother and some friends, among whom was Cardinal Monreale, supped with Vanozza (mother of the Borgias) at a vineyard near S. Pietro ad Vincula. The meal ended, the brothers mounted their mules to return to the Vatican. Gandia took leave of Caesar beside the present Palazzo Cesarini, where the Vice-chancellor Ascanio dwelt, in order as he alleged to attend to some private business. He was accompanied only by a groom and a man in a mask, who had been in the habit of visiting him at the Vatican during the previous month.¹ The duke took this man on the saddle behind him and rode back to the Piazza degli Ebrei; here he commanded his servant to wait an hour for him, and, if he failed to appear, then to return to the papal palace. Morning came, but the duke did not. The Pope was terrified, but believed that his son was detained by some love affair and would return in the evening. Evening

¹ This is also told us by the Mantuan orator, Joh. Carolus (Scalona). Despatch of June 16, Rome: *fuo visto salirli un in croppa, che era a cavallo a mulla, et questo tale era in capuzato negro: per il che se presume chel fusse un ordine dato per trapolarlo come hanno facto.* This account is printed in full in the *Arch. d. R. Soc. Romana di S. P.*, vol. xi. (1888), 300 f.

came, the duke remained absent, and the Pope's consternation was now intense. The police informed him that the groom of his missing son had been found mortally wounded in the Piazza degli Ebrei and had been unable to give tidings of his master's fate. The news immediately spread through Rome that Gandia had been murdered and thrown into the Tiber. There was nothing to support the rumour beyond the nightly repetition of murders. A charcoal dealer, one of the colony of Slavonians who already dwelt beside the Ripetta, was seized and questioned as to what he had seen on Tuesday night.¹ "About one o'clock," he answered, "I saw two men come from the street on the left of the Slavonian Hospital to the Tiber, close to the fountain where people throw rubbish into the river. They looked round and then returned. Soon after two more appeared, looked round likewise and made a sign. Then came a man on a white horse, a dead body behind him, whose head and arms hung on one side, his feet on the other. He rode to the spot indicated, when his attendants with all their might threw the corpse into the river. The horseman asked: 'Have you thrown him well in?' They replied, 'Yes, sir.' He looked into the river, and the attendants, seeing the cloak of the dead floating on the surface, threw stones to make it sink." Questioned as to why he had not informed the governor of the occurrence, the charcoal dealer replied, "In my time I have probably seen a hundred

¹ Burkard : *quidam Georgius Sclavus, qui ligna habebat in Tiberis litore—prope Hospitale S. Hieronymi Sclavorum.*

corpses thrown into the river at night, and no one has ever troubled about them."¹

Hundreds of fishermen immediately began angling in the Tiber for the son of the Pope; a spectacle so strange and exciting as to throw the whole of Rome into agitation.² The following day about noon the duke was drawn ashore. He was completely dressed, with boots and spurs, in velvet coat and mantle; he

¹ *Respondit, suis diebus se vidisse centum in diversis noctib. in flumen projici, per dictum locum, et nunquam aliqua eorum cura est habita.* Burkard. The letter of Cardinal Ascanio to his brother, Ludovico il Moro (Archives of Modena) agrees with this account. *Illm. Princ. et Exme Com. Fr. et Pr. honor. Laltriheri circa le 2 hore de nocte ritornando li R. Carli de Valenza et Borgia et il Duca de Candia da una vigna dove havevano cenato quando furono a Piazza Judea, el Duca se segrego dali altri con uno staffero solo, al quale dixte che andasse per alcune sue Arme et lo expectasse in quello loco da unde lo Invio, El Duca poi sino a quest hora 14. none stato Trovato, Ne de la persona sua se hano alcuni Indicii certi, la Mula sua e stata Trovata verso Casa del Carle. de Parma, et uno Barcarola afferma che l'altra nocte circa le 4 hore vide gettare uno nel fiume da alcuni armati, da uno loco el quale è propinquo a S. Maria del Popolo. Si fano tutte le delligentis per sapere la veritate de la quale havendosi notitia ne daro subito aviso ala Exa Va a la quale se prima che hora non ho scripto è preceduto perche N. Signore fece tenere tutto heri la cosa secreta persuadendosi che epsò Duca potesse essere intrato, per causa de femine in qualche loco. Daunde no fusse poi potuto uscire, ma che havesse ad uscire questa nocte passata. Il che nò succedendo La Beat. sua ha facto fare tutta la nocte grandissima investigatione in vano. Et sta con quella amaritudine et anxietate che la E. V. puo consyderare ala quale me facomando. Romae, 16 Juny 1497. Fr. Filius et Ser. Asc. M. Carlis Sf. Vicecomes S.R.E. Vicecan.*

² Sannazaro made the terrible epigram (n. 51):

*Piscatorem hominum ne te non, Sexte, putemus,
Piscaris natum retibus ecce tuum.*

The same thought had already crossed the mind of the Mantuan orator. Despatch of June 16: *cussi il papa e facto piscatore del figlio.*

was pierced by nine wounds on head, body and thighs, a fatal wound was in the neck. His hands were tied together and a purse containing thirty ducats was found upon him.¹ The body was taken in a boat to S. Angelo, where the dead was clad in the robes of a general of the Church and laid on a bier.² The populace surged through the streets; all shops were closed. Many scarcely concealed their hatred and malicious joy; the Spaniards alone paraded the city with drawn swords, with tears or curses.³ Late in the evening the dead son of the Pope was borne to S. Maria del Popolo. The terrible funeral procession carrying two hundred torches advanced along the Tiber past the spot where the duke had been thrown into the river. Prelates, chamberlains and servants of the palace, amid loud lamentations, preceded the corpse. The Romans gazed with horror on the face of the

¹ Burkard's statement is confirmed by the Venetian account, Rome, June 17, in Malipiero. It is also found in Sanuto's Diar., i. 471, signed *Mar. Ver. Pomp.* And in the Diary a letter of June 16: Hugholinus Matheus to Nicol. Paviglinus da Utino. In the *Registro della Depositeria Capitolina* (A.D. 1497 to 1502) is an order of the Governor of Rome, commanding that a reward of 10 ducats be paid to the fishermen: *Item per uno manda de dys 21 de Jugno ducato dieci conti a battistino de taglia et compagni perche anno ritrovato lo ducha de candia, come appare per mandato del governatore, D. 10. (Fanfulla della Domenica, 1880, n. 12.)*

² The narrator of June 17 (in Sanuto) says: *Stando io in ponte, udii grandissimo pianto et cridor d'una persona sopra gli altri; la qual si tenne che fusse l' Papa, il qual gli voleva gran bene.*

³ Matarazzo, p. 72. Satires were made in Rome. The whole of Italy *se ne rideva e gavazzava*. The followers of Borgia on the contrary wrote laments in verse. One is preserved in the Munich Cod. of H. Schedel.

Gandia's
descend-
ants in
Spain.

murdered man, as, illumined by the fitful light of torches, he lay as if asleep on an open bier. He was buried in the family chapel of his mother Vanozza in S. Maria del Popolo.¹ Gandia, who was scarcely twenty-four years of age, was the only one of Alexander's sons to found a family. He left a son Don Juan, who with his mother Donna Maria Enriquez had remained behind in Spain, and who became the ancestor of a numerous and distinguished line of Dukes of Gandia, of prelates and cardinals. A curious accident decreed that a grandson of the murdered man, Duke Francesco of Gandia, should become the third general of the Jesuit order. He died in 1572, and was canonised.²

The terrible fate of his son, the contempt of the world, and other hideous thoughts combined to render the Pope almost frantic. He shut himself up in the palace. He was heard weeping in his room. "I know his murderer," he is reported to have exclaimed. The cardinal of Segovia and other courtiers begged admission at the door. At length he opened it. He neither ate nor drank, nor did he sleep from Thursday morning until Sunday.

On June 19 he summoned a consistory. All the cardinals came except Ascanio. The foreign envoys were also present. With breathless suspense they listened to the Pope's discourse. "Had I seven

¹ In the deed in the Archives of S. Sanctor., it is now called *Capella del corpo di Christo*, now *della Madonna*. Masses which Vanozza had ordered for her own soul and the souls of her children were read there until the eighteenth century.

² See the genealogical tree in the Boletín of the Historical Academy at Madrid, 1886, p. 416 f.

papacies," he said, "I would give them all for the life of my son." He declared that he did not know who was the murderer; he repudiated the rumour that cast suspicion on Pesaro, Squillace or Urbino. Utterly unnerved, he said that he would no longer think of the Papacy or of his life, but only of the reform of the Church. He appointed a commission of six cardinals and elected it on the spot. When he had finished his discourse, the Spanish envoy Don Garcilaso de la Vega rose, apologised for Ascanio's absence, expressed condolences in his name, and contradicted the report that the cardinal had been guilty of the deed, or had made himself head of the Orsini; he had only remained away in dread of the excesses of the Spaniards, but would appear immediately on the papal summons. Alexander replied that he had never suspected Ascanio, whom he regarded as a brother. The ambassadors one after another expressed their sympathy, and the Pope dissolved this strange consistory.¹

The Pope's
speech in
Consistory.

The same 19th of June Alexander informed the powers of Italy as well as the foreign powers of the misfortune that had befallen him, and of the sacred resolve that he had formed on receiving this sign from God.² They answered by letters of con-

¹ Marino Sanuto, in Rawdon Brown, i. 74.

² The Pope's own announcement: *dum ipse Dux a cena rediret parum post initium noctis relictis ac dimissis in via familiarib. suis —nescimus cuj. investigatione et in quem urbis loc. et quam ob caus ac quib. sicariis interemptus in Tyberim projectus ubi tandem cujusd. barce custodis inditio repertus est novem crudelissimus vulnerib. confossus et jugulatus.* . . . Brief to the Doge of June 19. Similar brief to Milan. (Sanuto, i. fol. 472.)

He determines to reform the Curia.

dolence. And, with perhaps greater sincerity than the Pope, they perceived a warning from heaven in the death of his son. Maximilian exhorted him to carry out his good resolutions.¹ The Pope determined henceforward to sell no more benefices, but only to bestow them on worthy candidates. The cardinals were only to have one bishopric each, and were only to draw 6000 florins income; their court was not to consist of more than eighty retainers.² So crushed did Alexander show himself that he even wrote to the King of Spain of his abdication. But these passing stings of conscience were powerless against the evil circumstances, in which he was inextricably entangled.³ Scarcely had the commission issued some laws for reform, when Alexander opposed it

¹ Maximilian wrote: *significavit nob. suis literis V. S. lugubrem casum b. m. Joannis de borgia ducis Gandiae—qui sane ut nob. acerbus molestusque fuerat, sicut et phileberto oratori nro. Vest. Sti coram nomine nro. condoleri eamque debite consolari jusseramus—exhortamur, ut in sua constanti fortitudine perseveret, suumq. divin. propositum—fortificet. Ex. Vico nro. Inst. 24. Jullii 1497.* Venetian Archives, Roma, *M. mista*, B. xxiii. Several states and nobles sent condolences. Also Cardinal Julian Rovere, Carpentras, July 10, 1497. He received the news when on the point of starting for Italy. *Ex hoc tam acerbo, et miserabili casu tantum plane doloris et molesti cepi, quantum profecto cepissem, si ipse urbis pref. germanus meus defunctus fuisset. Bibl. Marciana, Cod. Lat. Class. X., clxxv.* This letter was perhaps the introduction to the diplomatic approaches of the two enemies. The precious Codex contains 48 letters of the Cardinal from the year 1474 onwards.

² Letter from Rome, of July 8, 1497, in Mar. Sanuto, i. 468.

³ For the project of his abdication, see Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Don Hernando*, lib. iii. c. 7. Plan of reform: Raynald, A.D. 1497, n. 4. Petr. Delphinus, v. Ep. 37, to Cardinal Piccolomini, July 3, 1497.

with the explanation that the papal liberty would thereby be diminished.

Who was the mysterious assassin of the Pope's son? The police caused every house that the Duke had frequented to be searched. His servants were put to the torture; suspicion fell on people of high rank, such as the beautiful daughter of Count Antonio Maria of Mirandola, whose palace stood near the spot where the Duke was thrown into the river.¹ But nothing was discovered. Some pointed to Pesaro (who had fled) as having instigated the murder from revenge as well as jealousy, believing Gandia to have been guilty of criminal intercourse with Lucrezia, his own sister.² Others accused Ascanio; the Duke had violently carried off Ascanio's chamberlain and caused him to be strangled in the Vatican, and the haughty cardinal had revenged the outrage. A few days after the murder, however, under bail of the ambassadors of Spain and Naples, Ascanio went to the Pope, with whom he remained in discourse for four hours. Alexander well knew that he was innocent, nevertheless the cardinal held it wise to betake himself to Grotta Ferrata in the beginning of July. Thence he returned in August, because Lunate was dying, and again he had an interview with the Pope. From motives of prudence he left Rome in September and went to Loreto.³

Enquiry
concerning
Gandia's
murder.

¹ Account of the Florentine orator Alessandro Braccio, Rome, June 17, 1497. Flor. Archives, *Lettere ai X. di Balia Cl. X.*, Dist. n. 54.

² Venet. letter in Malipiero.—Matarazzo, p. 70.

³ For these rumours and Ascanio's attitude, see Sanuto, *Diar.*, i.

Caesar
Borgia the
murderer
of his
brother.

The Pope must have discovered the terrible secret; otherwise is it probable that in the course of two short weeks he would have dropped the enquiry concerning the murderer of his son? ¹ Or did he wish to bury the terrible deed in darkness, since the enquiry set afoot would have spread the most terrible reports respecting the mysteries of the house of Borgia? He was acquainted with the murderer, and if he had not actual proof, he was at all events morally convinced that this was his own son, the brother of the victim. Our feeling of morality revolts against the belief of that corrupt age, which held that Lucrezia was the object of the criminal passion and the jealousy of both her brothers, and even of a third person; but the judgment of history does not reject the opinion, that the splendid position of his brother was an insupportable obstacle in the way of Caesar's ambition.² He removed it to clear

fol. 495; and in agreement with it, Braccio to the Florentine Signory, Rome, June 23, 1497. The Orsini were also accused, Sanuto, p. 590.

¹ Braccio, Rome, July 5: *Et chi afferma el Papa havvere lo intero, ma dissimulare per la cagione ho dicta per altra* (I have not been able to find the letter referred to in the Florentine Archives), *et alcuni dicono el contrario, ma quomodocunque sit Sua Santità non fa più cercare, et li suoi tucti pensano in una medesima sententia che non sene sappia el vero*: which is quite explicable.

² Rumours of incest (especially on Caesar's part) are mentioned by enemies, such as Sannazaro, not by personal adversaries like Guicciardini. Machiavelli hints at it, *Lett. ai X. di Balìa*, *op. min.*, p. 94. Matarazzo speaks of it openly, as does M. Attilius Alexius in Baluze, *Miscell.*, iv. 517. Petr. Martyr, Ep. x. 177, July 7, 1497, and the Venetian ambassador Capello (report of September 28, 1500) hint at it; Priuli likewise speaks of it.

his own path. Soon enough he was held to be the murderer, though no one dared give vent to the opinion.¹ Burkard breathes not a word of fratricide. He breaks off his diary, perhaps purposely, on June 14.² Not until three years later did the Venetian ambassador openly express the opinion that Caesar had murdered his brother, and the belief was avowed by the chief historians and statesmen of Italy.³ The death of Gandia delivered Caesar from a rival in the Pope's favour, and perhaps made it possible for him to lay aside the clerical habit, which he had long resolved to do. True, he must wear the spiritual mask yet a year longer, regard for the suspicion of the world rendering this necessary. His father already stood under the spell of his son's terrible

¹ Raf. Volaterr., *Comment. Urbis*, xxii. 680, cautiously says: *Cædis auctorem quamquam plerique non ignorant, non tamen nominare fas putant*, and he continues: *Post ejus mortem Caesar card. spreto sacerdotio—cupidus dominandi*. . . . On the other hand another contemporary, Sigismondi Conti, *Hist.*, xiv. 270, says: *compertum fuit Valentinum eius rei auctorem fuisse*.

² In the Chigi MS. (L. i. 15) the gap extends from June 14 to August 7, and to the obsequies of Cardinal Lunate.

³ *Ammazzo anche il fratello e scannato lo fe battere nel Tevere*: Polo Capello (Albéri, Ser. ii., iii. 11). Capello was not in Rome in 1497, the envoy at that time being Nic. Michiel, whose account is not forthcoming. Capello first came in 1499, and remained until September 15, 1500. Petr. Martyr, Ep. l. x. 99, April 9, 1497, writing from Burgos, expresses his conviction of the fratricide; the date of this letter prior to that of the event and other grounds are the reasons for Ranke's opinion, that Petr. Martyr retouched these letters afterwards. Panvinius believed that the Pope was accessory to the crime!! He derives the idea from Jovius, *Elog.*, iv. 202; *connivente prorsus ad immane parricidii scelus patre Pontifice, qui et ipse vim sibi afferri ab efferato filio procul dubio metuebat*. These are the Thyestean horrors of which Cardinal Egidius speaks.

strength of will, and even trembled before it. No witness beheld their first meeting after the deed. It is certain however that Caesar remained five weeks in Rome before starting on his journey to Naples.¹

Caesar
Borgia
legate for
the corona-
tion in
Naples.

He left, accompanied by Burkard, on July 22.² On August 1 he was at Capua, where he was received with the highest honours by the royal court. He fell ill here, when Don Jofré and his wife left Rome (on August 8) to join him. On August 10 the last king of the house of Aragon received the fatal crown from the hands of Caesar Borgia, this terrible man probably meditating at the moment the means whereby he might snatch the diadem, which, as legate, he now placed on the monarch's head.

He returned on September 4, 1497. The cardinals greeted their now all-powerful colleague at S. Maria Nuova and escorted him to the Vatican. The Pope received him in consistory and kissed him; but father and son did not exchange a word.³ The father however loved his son; he already contemplated transforming him into a secular prince; it was already rumoured that Caesar was to marry

¹ The feeble arguments with which Roscoe exonerates Caesar do honour to the feelings of this mediocre author, but only provoke the smiles of those who are able to judge.

² I establish this date from Braccio's despatch; Rome, July 22: *Valenza parti questa mattina avanti giorno al camino suo* (Archiv. Flor., *ut supra*); and from M. Sanuto, l. 498, who adds: *con cavalli* 300.

³ *Et bene non dixit verbum Papae Valentinus, nec Papa sibi, sed eo deoscula'o, descendit de solio.* Burkard—Chigi.

either the widow of King Ferdinand, or his sister-in-law Sancia, the young wife of Don Jofré, who was then to take his place as cardinal.¹

Gandia's murder had been a terrible shock to the Pope, but since the dead could not be brought back, the father, with the greatest charity, forgave the crime of his son Caesar.² So blunted was his conscience, that he formally consigned to Caesar's keeping the valuable furniture and jewels of his dead son in trust for Juan, Gandia's heir.³ The reproachful spirit of the murdered man may well have been heard in the Vatican; but it was soon reduced to silence.⁴ The people believed in the spectre. It was said that the Pope was surrounded by infernal powers. "Great signs," wrote Malipiero, "took place in Alexander's time; his anteroom was struck by lightning; there was an inundation of the Tiber; his son was murdered, and now has S. Angelo flown into the air." On October 29, 1497, the powder magazine was struck by lightning; the explosion destroyed the upper part of the fortress,

¹ Sanuto, i. 556, 559: *et ut intellexi ra molti mexi questo Card. Valenza usava con la cognata*. Alexander imparted his latest plan to Charles VIII. in October 1497. Zurita, *Hist. del Rey H.*, iii. c. 7.

² The words of Jovius, *Vita Consalvi*, p. 213.

³ To the value of 30,000 ducats, for which sum Caesar acknowledged himself debtor. In December 1499 Donna Maria Enriquez of Valencia claimed 5000 ducats for her son, and this was paid by Caesar. Deed of December 19, 1499, executed in the Vatican (Registr. Beneimbene).

⁴ In February 1498 it was said that the ghost's shrieks were heard there, and the Pope in consequence withdrew to S. Angelo. Sanuto, i. 623.

shattered the marble angel, and sent stones flying far into the Borgo.¹

The logic of crime continued its operations. The time had come when Caesar Borgia was to step into the foreground, to tower over his own father, and to force Alexander to acknowledge that he, his son, was master.

2. DEMORALISATION OF THE PAPACY — FERRARI — FLORIDO — SAVONAROLA — DEATH OF CHARLES VIII., APRIL 1498—LEWIS XII.—WAR AND PEACE BETWEEN COLONNA AND ORSINI—THE POPE FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH LEWIS XII.—LUCREZIA BORGIA MARRIED TO DON ALFONSO OF BISEGLIA—CAESAR GOES TO FRANCE AND BECOMES DUKE OF VALENCE—MARRIES JOANNA D'ALBRET—WARLIKE EXPEDITION OF LEWIS XII.—HE CONQUERS MILAN—LUCREZIA, REGENT OF SPOLETO—THE POPE RUINS THE GAETANI —CAESAR IN THE ROMAGNA—FALL OF IMOLA, 1499.]

The political horizon of Italy was at this time so dark that disaster seemed to hover in the air. Every power except Venice still reeled under the shocks received in 1494 and 1495. The Papacy, drawn into the current of the time, had reached the most critical point of her secular transformation. Before Alexander VI. a few popes had still endeavoured either to hold the Church firm to her

¹ Burkard. Malipiero, p. 497.—Observe, that the Cardinal Sclafenati of Parma died in 1497; his benefices, which yielded 12,000 ducats a year, were given to Caesar by the Pope. Sanuto, i. 590.

national idea, or to preserve her cosmopolitan position; both these aims however had been entirely abandoned. The theocratic principle had been exchanged for a tyranny. The prince who then sat on the marble throne of the Vatican only differed from the other dynastic princes of Italy in his title and dress; he had not forgotten, however, that he was in possession of the spiritual authority and could use it for his worldly aims. This twofold nature, the most curious product of Europe, which arose in the alliance of the practical history of Rome and the mysticism of the Christian religion, made the Pope-King still formidable to all the powers and rendered his ecclesiastical state indestructible.

At no period of Rome's deepest darkness, such as had been denounced by satirists or saints from Pier Damiani to Clemange, had her corruption equalled that of the time of the Borgias, when the light of Humanism only made the shadows of the Vatican appear the darker. Here, under the ruins of the ancient church and also of the ancient communal freedom of Rome, sat father and son in their sumptuous chambers, absolute rulers, surrounded by complaisant servants, deeming themselves justified, like Tiberius in former days, in despising their time, the corrupt people and the Senate which obeyed them. Within this senate some of the better men, such as Piccolomini and Caraffa, bewailed the state of things; the majority however were creatures of the Borgia, and, like them, corrupt. The Jesuit Mariana afterwards spoke of Alexander VI. not as Pope, but only as president of ecclesiastical cere-

Demoralisation
of the
Papacy.

monies, and indeed the public religion as represented in Rome was nothing more than a conventional service of forms. Such was it also generally speaking throughout Italy. To uphold its outward rules was deemed a matter of prudence by princes and republics, for religion and its mysteries could be used as a political instrument. And only in this sense does Machiavelli counsel rulers to make use of it, and even to encourage superstition as the ancient Romans had done.¹

Thirst for power and pleasure were the motives of an age in which the doctrines of Epicurus had vanquished Christianity. Almost every prominent man of this period seems abandoned to sensuality, and Alexander VI. found Rome a sink of immorality.² In this vicious society the only aim was to make use of men and things as instruments of selfishness. And egotism is the leading characteristic of the men of the Renaissance, when the conscience of the individual, like the moral conception of law in the State, was destroyed. When a powerful will appeared, its action was deadly. The age tolerated and committed atrocities as were they in the course of nature. Men of the present day can scarcely comprehend conditions such as these. The Borgias represented the renascence of crime, such as had been witnessed in the days of Tiberius and other emperors. They possessed the most audacious

¹ See the memorable passage : *Discorsi*, I. c. 12.

² Infessura says that in the time of Innocent VIII. the Papal vicar forbade concubines to both clergy and laity ; the Pope revoked the prohibition. Eccard's edition, ii. 1996.

courage in this respect, but crime itself in their hands became a work of art. This is the reason why Machiavelli, the political naturalist of the age, has admired a Caesar Borgia. Gold was the idol before which all bowed. By means of gold Alexander ascended the throne, with gold he maintained it, and with gold he acquired territories for Caesar. He only followed the example of his predecessors when he offered for sale every office, every favour, justice and injustice. He merely did it on a larger scale. Since Lopez had become a cardinal, Alexander's right hand was the new datary Giambattista Ferrari from Modena, the Cerberus of the Curia, as he has been called. The Romans, all in their sphere alike avaricious, patiently tolerated the iniquity in the Vatican, lived on the overflow of money at the Curia, and contented themselves with satires as in the days of Juvenal. As long as their forefathers in the Middle Ages held their parliament on the Capitol the voice of Pasquino remained silent; now when there were no longer any men among the Romans he resumed his witty speeches, and henceforward was allowed to write satires—the weapons of the weak.

A cry was raised in every country over the state of affairs in Rome. German princes who, like Albert of Saxony and Erich of Brunswick, came to the Sacred city shuddered at the things they heard and saw. In France Charles VIII. regretted that he had not brought Alexander before a Council. Portugal and Spain admonished the Pope; every crime went unpunished at the Curia; all sacred things were for

Fall of the
private
secretary
Florido.

sale ; Rome was a sink of shameless vice ; iniquity had reached its zenith. The reformation of the Church and a council were demanded.¹ The highest officials of the Curia committed forgeries. Even the private secretary Florido, who was also Archbishop of Cosenza, was accused of having forged dispensations which enraged the King of Spain. The fall of this favourite reminds us of the fall of Sejanus. Florido, imprisoned in September 1497, denied his guilt, but was induced to confess ; the Pope made use of his admissions, and he was finally thrown into the dungeon of S. Angelo, called San Marocco. This was a dark hole in the inner vault of Hadrian, where unfortunate prisoners were thrust through a trap-door into a well. Here Florido was confined ; he was given nothing but bread and water, a flask of oil and a lamp, a breviary and the Scriptures. He died on July 23, 1498.²

Savonarola gave eloquent expression to the indignation of Italy. The sacred scorn with which he denounced the Papacy of a Borgia, the corruption of the Church and of the Italian nation assure him a place among the martyrs to the ideal. This bold orator of the people was the conscience of Italy, and her prophet, in the sense of the prophets who had preached to the erring people of Israel. He beheld

¹ See what Raynald, drawing from Osorius, says, A.D. 1498, n. 20.

² Burkard — Chigi calls the place Sammaracho. Cellini, *Vita*, ii. c. 2, speaks of the dungeon as *trabocchetto del Sammalo*. Documents show that it was called San Marocco from a chapel or picture of a saint. — Florido was succeeded by Ortega, and afterwards by Adriano of Corneto.

the guilt of the time and drew from it its logical deductions. He rightly prophesied the expedition of Charles VIII., and many other events, as Comines has noted with astonishment. He did not deceive himself as regards the effect on Italy of Charles's expedition, but in the expectation that the French King would reform the Church by means of a council. After the banishment of the Medici, Savonarola was head of the Florentine republic, where he began to assume the position of lawgiver. Magnetic currents emanated from his mind and thrilled through Florence, the city of the Pagan philosophers, of men of pleasure, of revellers in art, of money changers and merchants, of political schemers and keenest critics. Savonarola was the Cola di Rienzo of Florence, but endowed with the fanatical traits of Dominic; a man who still belonged to the Middle Ages, and who remained wrapped in the monk's habit which he never discarded. The power of the Church in Latin countries, the way it is interwoven with society and state, the enormous number of priests, the necessity of the Italian mind to embody a moral idea in a political form, and also the incapacity of long abiding in the province of pure reason—all these influences have combined to produce men such as Arnold of Brescia, John of Vicenza, and Savonarola, that is to say monks and politicians in one. From the type of character thus produced, it followed that its most important task—ecclesiastical reform—always foundered in revolutions of the State and its parties.

Savonarola's theatrical ravings, directed not against the effigies of the saints, as in Byzantine times, but

Savona-
rola.

against the "Vanities" of luxury, did nothing to improve public morals. His Lenten sermons only produced the transient effects that the Flagellant preachers had produced in old days; his invectives against the Sodom of Rome were admitted to be true, but they did not awaken any serious moral struggle between the liberty of conscience and the absolute power of the Papacy. Nothing could seem more justifiable than the expectation that the voice of Daniel crying "Woe" should rouse the Italian people to an effective reform of the Church, and even to the rejection of Alexander VI. But the preacher in the wilderness only encountered indifference to every higher religious idea. The feeling for Christianity and Church was for the most part dead in the Italians. It had either perished in outward ceremonial or else the necessity for reform had been diverted into the channels of classic culture. To the Italians the Papacy was invariably not a religious, but a political question. Savonarola desired to be the regenerator of the religion or of the morality of the people, in order thereby to make them capable of freedom, but the Florentines only asked that he should become the founder of their republic.¹ Machiavelli admitted that the political theories of the monk of S. Marco were excellent; he was silent however concerning the value of Savonarola's ideas on ecclesiastical reform.

¹ Villari, *Storia di Savonarola*, i. c. 4. The latest and best biographer of this prophet of the Renaissance is assuredly wrong when he accuses the Medici of having produced religious indifference. This indifference was a product of the entire age and a national characteristic of Italy.

Like all Italians, Machiavelli looked with indifference on ideas of the kind. In truth Savonarola's treatise on the government of Florence appears more worthy of regard than his incoherent programme concerning the reform of the Church, a subject on which he was never lucid.¹

Savonarola believed sufficiently in the awakening of Alexander's conscience after the murder of his son, to write exhorting the "Holy Father" to undertake the reform of the Church. It is only with feelings of astonishment that we read his letter to the Pope. The gloomy figure of the prophet, wrapt in the fire of lofty enthusiasm, inspired Alexander less with fear than with aversion. The monk was forced at length to discontinue his sermons against the vices of the Roman Curia. Incited by the Minorites, the doctrinal enemies of the demagogue, also by the banished Medici (Piero lived in exile in Rome), Alexander demanded from the Florentine signory the surrender of the monk, whom he forbade to preach. In his contest with this, the boldest, but the weakest, of his enemies, who finally appealed to a council and exhorted the princes of Europe to take measures for the reform of the Church, Alexander was aided by the disorders in the Florentine republic, where Savonarola's enemies, the Arrabbiati, had gained the upper hand. The unsuccessful result of a spectacle of mediaeval superstition—an ordeal by fire—to which the excommunicated prophet condescended, destroyed his

¹ *Trattato di Frate Jer. Savonarola circa il Reggimento e Governo della città di Fiorenza*, Pisa, 1817.

Death of
Savona-
rola, May
23, 1498.

aureole. The disillusioned people attacked his convent, and Savonarola, like Arnold of Brescia, ended his days like a common heretic at the stake on May 23, 1498. He fell because his visionary ecstasy, unaccompanied by deeds, and his idle prophecies wearied the people and were disastrous to the republic.¹ Alexander now felt more secure on the chair of Peter. The only moral protest made by Italy against him was quenched in flames; his authority was recognised by the Florentine republic, his papal prestige was restored in the sight of the world by the sentence pronounced by the signory. His conduct henceforward was utterly without fear or shame.

Luther, at this time a poor chorister, can scarcely have been moved by the impression of the tragedy in Florence. Twenty-five years later, however, he published the exposition of Psalm li., which the prophet of S. Marco had written in prison shortly before his death, and took the opportunity to honour the memory of the noble martyr.² But if the German Reformation may honour Savonarola as its predecessor in the sphere of morals, we must admit that he scarcely furnished a single weapon which it could adopt, such as the arms forged from the steel of learned criticism by the earlier reformers, Marsilius or Occam, Wycliffe or Huss. Visionaries, even the noblest and most lofty-minded, have never

¹ Machiavelli calls Florence *stanca ed infastidita* (*Lett. ai X.*, p. 99); he treats Savonarola with some irony in the *Decennali*, i. 436.

² Preface to Savonarola's exposition of Psalm li.

been able to break the fetters of mankind. Even in Italy, Savonarola's moral efforts for reform perished on his funeral pyre. Of this unfortunate first reformer of Renaissance times, nothing remains but the historic and literary profile of a saint. This profile, however, stands out in bright relief against the dark background of Alexander's papacy, as do the sufferings and sins of Italy at a time when Savonarola was the most independent-minded patriot, the most gifted thinker and the only moral representative of his nation. And only through Savonarola can Italy vindicate herself in this terrible period of degradation. Scarcely twelve years had passed after the execution of the Florentine reformer, when, in the picture of the "Disputa" in the Vatican, Raffaello ventured to place him among the saints of the Church.

Shortly before his death Savonarola had exhorted Charles VIII. to convoke a council, and yet a year earlier the King had asked the advice of the Sorbonne, which decided in its favour. The threat hovered over Alexander's head. Political circumstances, however, allowed him to hope that this council might be deferred; he was even contemplating a close alliance with the King, when Charles suddenly died at Amboise on April 7, 1498. His death entailed grave consequences. For scarcely had his cousin Orleans, the weak but ambitious Lewis XII., taken the crown, when, assuming the titles of Duke of Milan and King of Sicily and Jerusalem, he gave it to be understood that he intended to continue the enterprise of his pre-

Death of
Charles
VIII.,
April 7,
1498.

Lewis XII.
King of
France. decessors. Alexander hastened to congratulate him. With reserved attitude he told the King that which Lewis himself desired; that no campaign was to be undertaken in Italy, but instead the war against the Turks; that the claims on Milan and Naples were impracticable and only led to the common ruin; that the republic of Florence was to be preserved in her liberties; that Pisa was to be restored to her; that the Orsini and Colonna were to be forbidden to enter the French service without permission of the Church; that the King was not to take the banished Prefect of the city under his protection.¹

War between the
Colonna
and Orsini,
April 1498.

Precisely at this time Rome was distracted by a ferocious war that raged between the Colonna and Orsini. The good fortune of the Colonna, who drove the Orsini from the Abruzzi, irritated their hereditary enemies; for on July 6, 1497, Federigo had conferred on Fabrizio Colonna the investiture of Tagliacozzo and Alba, which had been previously confiscated on account of the revolt of Virginius. The Orsini formed an alliance with the Conti, advanced with an army against the Colonna, but suffered a crushing defeat at Palombara on April 12, 1498. Carlo Orsini was taken prisoner, Bartolommeo Alviano, the cardinal, his brother Julius, and John Jordan escaped with difficulty. Both sides

¹ *Alex. VI. Instruction. datae ven. Joanni Archiep. Ragusino ac dilect. filiis Adriano Castellen. Protonot. ac A. C. Clerico et Secretario nro. domest. et Raimundo Centellen. Prot. et Thesaur. Perusino nris et Ap. Sed. ad Ludov. Franc. Regem. Christ. Nuntiis et Oratorib. Mscr. Barberini, xxiii. 170.*

now recognised that their wars only redounded to the advantage of the Pope ; they concluded peace at Tivoli in June ; the families intermarried, and they left to King Federigo the decision concerning Tagliacozzo.¹ All the enemies of the Borgia rejoiced at the reconciliation of the two hostile houses, while the Pope was filled with suspicion. One day he found affixed to the doors of the Vatican library verses which exhorted the Colonna and Orsini to turn their now united forces against the "Bull" who laid waste Ausonia, and throw him and his "bull-calves" into the avenging waves of the Tiber.² Alexander was terrified ; he brought 800 infantry to the Borgo ; but to their misfortune the now reconciled hereditary enemies paid no heed to the sagacious warnings.

Colonna
and Orsini
make
peace.

People were already aware of the fresh plans which the Pope had framed for the advancement of his children, and of the disastrous negotiations which he had entered into with France. The league between himself, Venice and Milan, the Emperor and Spain still legally endured, but reasons were discovered which made it possible for the new King of France to dissolve the alliance, and above all to detach the Pope from it. Lewis XII. wished to

¹ He awarded these counties and Carsoli to the Colonna on February 3, 1499. Coppi, *Mem. Colonn.*, p. 236.

² Malipiero, p. 508, and with variants, Sanuto, i., p. ii. 97. The verses end :

*Ausonios fines vastantem caedite taurum,
Cornua monstrifero vellite torva bovi.
Merge, Tyber, vitulos animosus ultor in undas,
Bos cadat inferno victima magna Jovi.*

Alexander
VI. forms
an alliance
with
France.

repudiate his wife, Joanna of Valois, the deformed daughter of Lewis XI., and to marry Anne, widow of Charles VIII., with whom, as she was heiress of Brittany, he was the more passionately in love. A dispensation of the Church was necessary, and negotiations for the purpose were being carried on with Rome. Alexander eagerly seized the opportunity. The thought of setting Italy in flames by a second invasion caused him no dismay, for the ruin of the country, to which he himself did not belong, would aggrandise his children, while the friendship of Lewis XII. would protect him against schism, the council and every enemy. And to the alliance with France alone did the Borgia henceforward owe their unprecedented strength.

The King obtained his demand after he had conceded that which was required of him. The details were to be discussed with Caesar in France. For the time had now arrived when this Cardinal was to become a French, and then an Italian, prince. Great changes had taken place in the Pope's family. In the first place Lucrezia was again married.

Her childless union with Pesaro had already been dissolved in September 1497 by the Pope, and she herself sent to the convent of S. Sisto. Her injured husband continued to dwell in his signory of Pesaro, which he only retained because protected by the Venetians.¹ Alexander now followed the advice of

¹ The Pope caused Giovanni to be declared impotent. According to Matarazzo it was even certified that Lucrezia was still a virgin : *etiam advenga ad dio che fusse stata e fusse allor la maggior puttana che fusse in Roma.* The whole of Italy laughed. Giovanni,

Prospero Colonna, in marrying Lucrezia to Don Alfonso of Bisceglie, the bastard son of Alfonso II. The prince (aged seventeen) came to Rome in July, and the marriage of the Pope's daughter to her third husband was celebrated in the Vatican. Lucrezia conceived a genuine attachment to him from the first.¹ It was solely from fear that Frederick had consented to this marriage, but he steadfastly refused Caesar's request to bestow upon him the hand of his daughter Carlotta with Taranto as dowry, for which motive alone the Pope had concluded the Neapolitan alliance for his daughter.² The princess Carlotta had been brought up at the court of France, and the Pope besought King Lewis to use his intercession. Frederick, to whom the friendship of the Borgia appeared even more dangerous than their enmity, refused to hear of the match, and the young princess shrank with equal horror from marrying a "priest and the son of a priest."³

Lucrezia
Borgia
becomes
the wife of
Alfonso of
Aragon,
July 1498.

impelled by fear, even admitted that the marriage had never been consummated, and Lucrezia swore to the statement. Several letters from Giovanni to Ludovico of Milan, concerning the dissolution of his marriage, are preserved in the State Archives at Milan.

¹ *Lucretia se contenta molto bene de Don Alphonso: el qual per patto ha a star qui un anno per fermo, ne lei, vivendo el Papa, è obligata andar nel reame.* Joh. Lucidus, *ut supra*.

² *Et cum questa speranza ha fatto el parentado del Don Alphonso cum Donna Lucretia.* See the above despatch of Joh. Lucidus.

³ *L'affanno insupportabile avuto per noi in disturbare lo matrimonio che lo Papa volle fare e sollecitava con grandissima istanza si facesse tra la figliuola legittima nra e lo Cardin. di Valenza, cosa disconveniente—e contraria d'ogni ragione a voi è ben noto:* thus the King to Gonsalvo, July 24, 1498. This letter is full of hatred against the Pope, whose intention *sei malignare in lo regno*: Canestrini in the *Archiv. Stor.*, xv. 235.

Caesar
Borgia
renounces
the dignity
of Cardinal,
Aug. 1498.

Meanwhile on August 13, 1498, Cardinal Caesar explained before the consistory that he had always been inclined for a secular career, and that solely at the Pope's desire had he become a priest. These were perhaps the only true words that he ever spoke. The cardinals unanimously gave him permission to renounce the red hat, especially as he was simply a deacon, not a presbyter. Garcilasso, the Spanish envoy, alone protested against the transformation of a cardinal into a French Prince and consequently into an instrument of France, and demanded a reformation of the Curia, a demand that threw the Pope into a transport of rage. He had no hesitation in explaining that his son's renunciation of holy orders, a step that had been prompted by the most profane motives, was due to anxiety for his spiritual welfare.¹ With the cardinal's hat, Caesar renounced a revenue of 35,000 gold florins, which his benefices had brought him. The same day the chamberlain Serenon arrived who was to escort him to France. The outfit for the future Duke of Valentinois had been in course of preparation since the beginning of 1498. An incredible quantity of gold and silken stuffs had been procured from foreign manufactories. The sale of offices in the Curia and the seizure of the

¹ Letter of Alexander VI., September 3, 1498, to Archbishop Ximenes, begging for his support in the case (Venetian Archives, *Minute*, busta 26). *Rationibus pro Salute anime sue cum promoventib. ad transeundum ad secularia vota*. As he had already explained to the ambassador Garcilasso, he wished to bestow Caesar's benefices on persons agreeable to Spain. He recommends Gandia's youthful heir to the Archbishop.

possessions of deceased prelates, or of those whose property had been confiscated, increased the revenues required by the Pope's son. In April Peter de Aranda Bishop of Calagora, the aged Master of the papal household, suspected of being a Marane, was thrown into S. Angelo. In July 300 other so-called Marani obtained absolution as penitents, naturally for money, and were led through the Minerva, clad in yellow vestments and carrying tapers.¹

On October 1, 1498, Caesar set forth with royal splendour by sea to France.² The ex-cardinal rode a splendid horse, wore a beretta with black plumes, a costume of white damask with gold trimmings, and above it a mantle of black velvet, according to the French fashion. The Pope watched him from the window. Caesar was accompanied by four cardinals; but instead of passing through Rome the procession made its way by Trastevere.³ Hundreds of mules carried his treasure, the spoils collected from the State of the Church and Christendom, 200,000 ducats in gold or ornaments alone. His magnificent horses were shod with silver. Several young Romans, companions of his pleasures and flatterers of his

Caesar
Borgia
goes to
France,
Oct. 1498.

¹ *Questa era la punition publica, la secreta sara li danari chome havia fato di lo Ep. di chalagora — perche era richo per tuorli li danari.* Reports of the embassy in Sanuto, i., p. ii. fol. 44, August 1498, and Burkard. Ten thousand ducats were found in Aranda's house, and equal sums in the banks.

² Alexander recommended him to the King, *videl. dil. filium ducem Valentinensem, quo nihil carius habemus*; letter of September 28, 1498; Molini, *Docum. Stor.*, i. 28.

³ *Lo papa era ale fenestre: quatro cardinali lo accompagnarono sino alla porta ultima del banco*: Joh. Lucidus Cataneus to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, October 1, 1498; Gonzaga Archives.

power, joined his train; he was even accompanied by an Orsini, John Jordan. His entry to Avignon and to Chinon on December 19 was that of a sovereign. He was received by Lewis XII. with outward honour, but with secret contempt.¹ According to treaty Caesar brought with him the red hat for George of Amboise Archbishop of Rouen, and the bull of divorce for the King, which, according to his pleasure, he was to withhold or to sell for the highest price he could obtain. At the French court he met Cardinal Julian Rovere, his father's bitterest enemy. But the mediation of the King and the changed conditions forced the enemies to make terms. Julian, still living in exile in France, had lost hope of continuing the contest with the powerful Pope; he now supported the ambitious plans of the Borgia and again aided the French conqueror to subjugate his native country, for self-seeking was the sole main-spring of the actions of men at this period. Julian, now the executor of the Borgia's will, placed the cardinal's hat on the Archbishop in Tours.²

Julian
Rovere and
Caesar
Borgia.

¹ Concerning his entry into Chinon and the derision of the French courtiers; Brantôme, *Hommes illustres*, ii. 223. He calls Caesar's pomp *vaine gloire et la bombance sotté de ce Duc de Valentinois*.

² Already in August 1498 the Pope had restored Ostia to Cardinal Julian (Sanuto). Julian had sent the Cardinal of Lisbon to him and requested that he might return to Rome. Alexander feigned joy: *Dil. fil. n. Valentin. expectat in dies regias naves—in galliam ad Maj. suam profecturus—non ignoramus, quo affectu—res suas apud—regem fraternitas tuā—dirigere curaverit*: he urgently recommends Caesar to him. Rome, September 1, 1498. Venetian Archives, *Letter. Min.*, busta 26. On September 11 Julian answered: he

To Lewis it was necessary above all things to gain the adhesion of the Pope, and this he did at the stipulated price,—Caesar's elevation. The former Cardinal of Valencia was created Duke of Valence with an adequate revenue, and thus with more meaning retained the title *Valentinus*. According to treaty the King was pledged to gain for him the hand of the princess Carlotta, by which Alexander hoped to pave the way for Caesar to a throne. Cardinal Julian had favoured the match, but had written to the Pope that it was frustrated by the refusal of the young princess. He assured Alexander, that not only he, but the King of France, would leave nothing undone to overcome this reluctance; were they unsuccessful, the King offered Caesar the hand of his niece, the daughter of the Count of Foix, or that of the sister of the King of Navarre. In flattery of the Pope, the Cardinal extolled Caesar's distinguished abilities in the same letter. "This," he said, "I will not conceal from your Holiness, that the illustrious Duke of Valence is endowed with such modesty, prudence and adroitness, and such gifts of body and mind, that he has would hasten to Avignon *ut ibid. ips. D. Valentin. excipiam leto vultu, et quam honorificentissime fieri poterit prosequar.* He begs to be allowed to defer his return to Rome until April. The letter is full of expressions of devotion. *Cherii die XI. Sept. 1498. Bibl. Marciana Cl. X., Cod. 175.* These minutes, with other letters in the Marciana, belong to the Chancery of Livio Podocataro, Archbishop of Cyprus, after whose death (in 1556) they were appropriated by the Council of the Ten. The director of the State Archives in Venice, Tommaso Gar, gave me the most liberal information as to their contents. See concerning the circumstances of Cardinal Julian at this time: Moritz Brosch, *Papst Julius*, ii. p. 78.

Caesar
Borgia
becomes
Duke of
Valence.

won all men to his side, stands in the highest favour with the King and the entire court, and is held in esteem by all. And I have the greatest pleasure in bearing witness to this.”¹ The Pope meanwhile in a letter to the cardinal complained of the treachery of the King, since it was universally known that his son had gone to France solely on account of this marriage.² Lewis now offered Caesar the hand of a less scrupulous princess, a member of the French royal house, namely Charlotte d’Albret, a sister of Jean d’Albret, who was husband of Catherine of Navarre and thereby King of that country. The Pope was satisfied with the alliance. Here again Cardinal Julian was the most zealous promoter of the union.³ The son of Vanozza was thus admitted into the royal house of France, and on May 22, 1499, the Pope was able to inform the Cardinals that

He marries
Charlotte
d’Albret,
May 1499.

¹ The Cardinal wrote: *Filia etenim illa Regis F., vel suo ipsius ductu, vel, ut verius est, suasionem alior., constantissime — recusat.* Her counsellor, De Clario, had consequently been banished from the Court. *Quantum autem ego, P. S., in hac re—insudaverim, mallo ea ex alior. literis cognoscat.—Hoc unum non tacebo Sansct. V., ipsum Ill. Ducem Valent. modestia, prudentia, dexteritate et omni animi atque corporis virtute ita esse prelitum et institutum, ut omnium animos unice sibi devinxerit. . . . Ex civit. Nanatensi die 18. Jan. 1499. Cod. Bibl. S. Marci Venet., n. 175, Class. X., Ep. 44.* Original. The history of Julius II. before his elevation to the Papacy requires careful revision.

² Alexander VI. to Cardinal Julian, February 4, 1499. Venetian Archives, *ut supra.* *Consideret fraternit. tua quae sit de nobis et Rege fabula a detractoribus et malevolis, quib.—concordia nra est molestissima.*

³ Alexander VI. to Lewis XII., March 28, 1499. After the celebration of the marriage, Alexander, on June 1, loaded Cardinal Rovere with extravagant thanks. Venetian Archives, *ut supra*, busta 25, 26.

Caesar's marriage with the Princess d'Albret was an accomplished fact. Rome was illuminated in token of rejoicing.

And now began Caesar's career as prince, the most terrible drama in the annals of the secular Papacy to which it belongs. The Duke of Valence contemplated welding his Italian provinces into one, Lewis XII. having promised to lend him arms for the conquest of the Romagna, as soon as he himself obtained possession of Milan. Under these conditions Alexander, heedless of the protests of Spain, joined the league which the King had formed with Venice on April 15, 1499. Venice had become hostile to Ludovico Sforza. She supported Pisa against Florence, and her conduct drove Sforza to the side of the Florentines. The signory of Venice, eager to acquire the duchy of Milan, carried on negotiations with France for the ruin of the neighbouring state, and received the prospect of Cremona as reward for her alliance. It is only with horror that we can survey the dishonourable policy of the Italian princes, who constantly summoned foreign rulers into their country and then left it to poets to bewail the misfortunes of beautiful Italy. These laments have long deceived the judgment of the world, but they do so no more; for since Gothic times the much-wooed Helen has constantly sold herself to the highest bidder.

League
between
France,
Venice,
and the
Pope.

Lewis prepared both by land and sea to assert his rights to Milan and Naples. Naples he claimed as heir of the Angevin, Milan as grandson of Valentina Visconti. In this age of dynastic rights such

claims were sufficiently formidable, more especially to a usurper. Sforza trembled in Milan. On July 24 Cardinal Ascanio, who had been brought from Nettuno to Porta Ercole by Neapolitan galleys, fled to him and was soon followed by Sanseverino. Nowhere did he find allies. For Lewis XII. had secured by treaty the neutrality of Spain and England, and it was impossible that Maximilian could be ready to appear again in Italy. Florence was occupied with Pisa, and Frederick of Naples prudently sought his own safety.

The catastrophe developed by rapid strides. When in 1499 the French under Trivulzio, Aubigny and Ligny from the West, and the Venetians from the East, advanced against the duchy of Milan, its cities fell one after another by cowardice or treachery. As early as September 2 the helpless tyrant escaped to Tyrol, to appeal for aid to Maximilian. His general however sold the fortress of Milan, which was excellently equipped, to the enemy. Lewis XII. now came from Lyons; amid popular rejoicings he entered Milan as duke on October 6, 1499. He was accompanied in his triumphal progress by the vassals of his favour, the princes of Savoy, Montferrat, Ferrara, Mantua, the envoys of Venice and also of Genoa, which hastened to offer itself to France; further by Caesar Borgia, who, like a vulture eager for prey, followed the royal banner, and by Cardinal Julian, now the compliant associate of the conqueror of his native country. Alexander now endeavoured to gain the Rovere entirely to himself; on November 18, 1499, he absolved the

Lewis XII.
conquers
Milan.
Oct. 1499.

City prefect and also remitted the debt of 40,000 ducats.¹ He then even arranged a marriage between Francesco Maria, the young son of the Prefect, and Angela Borgia, one of his nieces.²

The victory of France occasioned unmitigated joy in the Vatican and awoke high-strung expectations of Caesar's future greatness. The French alliance must now lead to the subjugation of the entire State of the Church to the Borgia, and the Pope arranged the preliminaries. Already (an utterly unheard-of proceeding) he had made his daughter regent of Spoleto, one of the few towns in the State of the Church which had never fallen under the tyranny of a noble. Thither Lucrezia went with Don Jofré on August 8. Her departure was magnificent. Several richly caparisoned mules carried her valuables, among them a couch of silk and velvet, on which the beautiful regent might repose from her labours. She was escorted by the Vatican bodyguards, the governor of the city, the Neapolitan ambassador and several prelates, and from a loggia the Pope watched his daughter's departure.³ Her husband had shortly before secretly

Lucrezia
Borgia,
regent of
Spoleto.

¹ Bull, Mscr. Barberini, n. 1074, fol. 1725. Cardinal Julian thanks the Pope for the favour that he intends to show the city Prefect, and assures him that he is zealously recommending Caesar's cause; he tells him that the papal chamberlain Troccio will inform him on this subject. Letter, Milan, October 12, 1499, *Bibl. Marciana Cl. X.*, Cod. 175.

² The betrothal by proxy took place on September 2, 1500: *Registr. Benemibens.* The marriage was not consummated, because both were children.

³ She came to Spoleto on August 15, 1499. On August 10, 1500, Alexander appointed as her successor Lodovico Borgia, Archbishop

fled to the Colonna, in order to reach Naples.¹ The mysterious flight of the unlucky prince points to terrible things. A good genius had warned him, but, to his misfortune, Alfonso soon obeyed the summons of Alexander; he returned to his wife at Spoleto, and to men whose daggers were already whetted for him.

In the same August the Pope banished Madonna Sancia to Naples.² On September 23 he met his daughter, her brothers and her husband at Nepi. Here plans were discussed for the aggrandisement of the house by means of the property of the barons of Latium, whom Alexander now determined to extirpate throughout the entire Roman territory. He began with the Gaetani. This family had fallen to decay during the time of the schism, but had been restored by the descendants of Jacopo, a brother of Honoratus. Among these descendants in the latter half of the fifteenth century was conspicuous the second Honoratus, lord of Sermoneta and of all the other possessions of his house in Latium. Dying in 1490, he left three sons, Nicholas the Protonotary, Giacomo and Guglielmo. At the end of the year

of Valenza. *Docum. tratti dall' Archivio Commun. di Spoleto, pubblicati da Achille Sansi*, Foligno, 1861.—As early as October 14, 1499, Lucrezia, with her brother and husband, returned to Rome. On November 1 she gave birth to her son Rodrigo.

¹ About the 4th or 5th of August, *et a lassa la moglie gravada de 6 mexi la qual di continuo pianse*. Sanuto, ii. 751.

² *La qual non si volendo partir le mando a dir la faria butar per forza fuora et lei volendo danari nulli li a dato*. The Venetian envoy of August 6 and 7, in Sanuto, ii. 772. The princess soon returned.

1499 Alexander by stratagem entrapped Giacomo, now head of the house. He decoyed him to Rome, threw him into S. Angelo, and by false sentence of the senator and governor, caused him to be pronounced guilty of high treason, whereupon he confiscated all the Gaetani estates. The unfortunate man protested, but died of poison in S. Angelo on July 5, 1500.¹ Bernardino, the youthful son of Nicolo Gaetani, was murdered by Caesar's bailiffs at Sermoneta, and it was only with difficulty that Guglielmo escaped to Mantua. Papal troops occupied Sermoneta, which Lucrezia ostensibly bought from the papal camera for 80,000 ducats on February 12, 1500.²

Alexander VI. drives the Gaetani from Sermoneta, Dec. 1499.

As early as October 1499, under pretext of arrears of tribute, the Pope announced that the vassals of the Church in the Romagna and the March had forfeited their estates. These territories, at which the nephew of a former pope, Girolamo Riario, had previously aimed, were to form Caesar's principality.

¹ The remains were brought to S. Bartolommeo, *ubi discoopertus fuit a matre et sororibus ac aliis visus*. Burkard—Chigi. His mother was Catarina Orsini.—His protest before a notary is dated February 4, 1500, from S. Angelo; the original, written on paper, is in the Gaetani Archives, xxxix. n. 8.

² Burkard—Chigi. The Pope's treacherous conduct towards the Gaetani is best shown in the Bull of restitution for Guglielmo Gaetani of January 24, 1504, in which Julius II. annuls all the sentences pronounced against the house by Alexander VI., as issued *cupiditate inordinata et immoderata suos etiam aliena jactura postposita ditandi et locupletandi*, and stigmatised them all as disgraceful (*inique et inmaniter decreta . . . per illusionem, dolum et fraudem*). Thus did a Pope judge the acts of his predecessor. Original in the Gaetani Archives.

The ancient idea of the kingdom of Adria, formulated in the time of the great schism, was now to be realised by the son of a pope. There in the cities sat feudal lords, each of whom could point to a long and bloody family chronicle. The Malatesta, the Manfredi, the Montefeltre, the Sforza, Varani and Bentivogli for the most part had acquired the tyranny in the fourteenth century under the title of vicars of the Church, a title that dates essentially from the time of Albornoz. It is intelligible that at a period when, owing to the overthrow of similar feudal relations, European monarchies took shape, the popes should have attempted to become monarchs of their dismembered theocratic states. Alexander VI. was the right pope, and his son the right agent to execute the task. It is from this point of view, namely the extirpation from Italy of the polycracy of tyrants, that Machiavelli sees in Caesar the ideal of the Italian prince.

Nature had been lavish of her gifts to Caesar Borgia. Like Tiberius in former days, he was the handsomest man of his time and of athletic frame.¹ His insatiable sensuality stood in the service of a cold and penetrating intellect. He was also endowed

¹ His portrait is drawn by Polo Capello (Report of September 28, 1500): *è di anni 27 bellissimo. Di capo è grande ben fatto.*—Jovius says that his face (probably later and in consequence of his dissipation) was disfigured by redness and abscesses—*et gli occhi fitti in dentro, i quali con serpentina et crudele guardatura pareva che schizzassero fuoco* (*Nom. Illustri*, Cesare Borgia). There is no authentic portrait of him; the picture [formerly] in the Palazzo Borghese, ascribed to Raffaele, received his name without any good reason.

with a magnetic attraction for women, but a much more formidable strength of will that disarmed men. Jesuitism in statecraft, a product of Latin nations, was exercised by Caesar Borgia with such consummate skill, that he may be regarded as the model of a ruler in this sense. All the qualities of this type of character were exhibited in him in fullest measure; profound taciturnity, cunning and hypocrisy, astute calculation, rapid action at the right time, merciless cruelty, knowledge of men, the capacity for turning virtue and vice to account for one and the same end. He could be just, and liberal even to prodigality, but he was not liberal by nature. He carried into practice the theory that a superior intellect is justified in adopting any ends to attain its purpose. A bastard of such abilities, educated in the school of the dynastic intrigues of Italy, could only look on men with contempt, and could only utilise the world as material for his own ends. In the days of the declining republic of ancient Rome, Caesar Borgia would have been a prominent figure; in his own days the stage of his fatal ambition was necessarily restricted to the State of the Church. A greater mind would have burst these limits. Caesar was unable to do it, because he lacked all creative ideas and all moral greatness. He remained bound to the Papacy of his father, rose and sank with it, a monstrous abortion of nepotism. His career or his development, rapid as the growth of some noxious exotic, occupies only three years; it offers the terrible spectacle of a moral eruption of Rome, in which a whole "inferno"

of crimes is poured upon the world. Mankind may deem itself fortunate, in that its political and ecclesiastical constitution can no longer produce such demons, and that, even did nature permit such to arise, they could no longer find a place in history.

Caesar
Borgia
begins his
conquests
in the
Romagna,
Nov. 1499.

His father lent him the treasures of the Church, and, as lieutenant of the King of France, Lewis XII. gave him troops under Ivo d'Allegre, also some thousand Swiss under the Bailli of Dijon. Caesar himself took mercenaries into his pay, and thus collected about 8000 men. With this army he left Lombardy to undertake the conquest of the Romagna in November 1499. He was also joined by the Marquis of Mantua, who was in the pay of France. To provide funds for this war, the city of Milan lent 45,000 ducats to the Apostolic Camera, in whose name it was waged. So entirely had Cardinal Julian changed his attitude towards the Borgia family—(his youthful nephew was betrothed to Angela Borgia, a child)—that, with the cardinal-legat Juan Borgia, he received the custody of this sum, although Caesar's first onslaught was made on the house of Riario, to which he was nearly related. For it was against this very family of Sixtus IV. (to whom Cardinal Rovere owed everything) that Caesar first turned. He sent troops in advance against Imola and himself hurried to Rome, to take counsel with his father. He arrived on November 18, remained three days in the Vatican, and then returned to the camp before Imola, a town which Catherine Sforza, Riario's widow, courageously resolved to defend. Her relation Cardinal Rafael

dwelt in Rome. Seeing the approaching ruin of his house, the Cardinal, on pretext of going to hunt at Castel Giubileo, on the day of Caesar's arrival fled to the Orsini at Monte Rotondo and thence over hill and vale to Tuscany. He was fortunate in his escape, for a conspiracy was just then discovered against the life of the Pope, whom some Forlivesi, subjects of the Countess, intended to poison by means of a letter.¹

Imola fell as early as December 1, 1499, where-
upon Caesar appeared before Forli. Forli also
surrendered, but Catherine defended the fortress, the
same which with virile energy she had defended
after the murder of her husband. The last year of
the century passed without Caesar having succeeded
in overcoming this amazon; nor could he make
further progress in the Romagna, where the
suspicious Venetians strove to defend Rimini and
also Urbino.

Catarina
Sforza de-
fends the
castle of
Forli.

¹ Thanksgivings were offered in S. Maria della Pace on November 24, *quod Pont. a veneno et insidiis inimicor. liberatus esset*. Alexander himself informed the Signory of Florence of the design to poison him. Brief, Rome, November 21, 1499. *Arch. Flor. Atti pubblici*. The whole plot was perhaps a fabrication.

3. THE JUBILEE OF 1500—CAESAR CONQUERS SINIGAGLIA—FATE OF CATHERINE SFORZA RIARIO—SUDDEN RESTORATION OF LUDOVICO IN MILAN—CAESAR ENTERS ROME—FALL OF THE HOUSE OF SFORZA IN MILAN—TERRIBLE STATE OF ROME—THE POPE IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE—CAESAR MURDERS DON ALFONSO—APPOINTMENT OF CARDINALS—CAESAR CONQUERS FAENZA, APRIL 1501—ASTORRE MANFREDI IN S. ANGELO—CAESAR BECOMES DUKE OF THE ROMAGNA—HIS ENTERPRISES AGAINST BOLOGNA AND FLORENCE—TREATY OF THE PARTITION OF NAPLES BETWEEN SPAIN AND FRANCE—FALL OF THE NEAPOLITAN HOUSE OF ARAGON, 1501.

Alexander VI. closed the fifteenth and opened the sixteenth century, and here the reader of the present history will congratulate the writer, that after long wanderings amid the ruins, the sufferings, the errors and the scattered works of the human race during a period of eleven hundred years, he has at length reached the end of the Middle Ages. He will recognise with joy the laws by which mankind is guided onwards to an ever greater degree of perfection. The fifteenth century was richer in acquisitions than its predecessor; it witnessed the development of learning and art, saw Europe renew her intellectual youth, beheld the rise of a new world—here America and there India—to which Vasco de Gama had discovered the passage by sea at the end of the century. With the sixteenth century mankind entered on more elevated missions. While in Germany were already born the men who were

to carry out the great Reformation, which had hitherto been invariably refused to Christendom, the centre of gravity of the European world rested essentially in the Latin nations. Portugal and Spain, France and Italy were in advance of the German races, partly in culture and partly in political maturity. The principle of life was no longer the Latin Church, but Latin culture, its political aim the national monarchy. For of all the powers of the time, the Church—owing to the fault of the Papacy, which had become a political institution—had reached the depth of decadence, and the Church alone threw a gloomy shadow across the light that illumined the world. It is only with shame that Christendom reads the bull of jubilee, in which Alexander VI. invites it on a pilgrimage to Rome, and only with horror that any man of conscience can look on the unclean hand of the Borgia, as he held the silver hammer, with which on the Christmas Eve of 1499 he opened the door of entrance to S. Peter's.¹

The Jubilee
of 1500.

Nevertheless pilgrims, especially Bohemian converts, came in sufficient numbers to iniquitous Rome, where even in the person of Borgia they revered the head of a Church, whose miraculous powers, according to the belief of the faithful, could not be destroyed by the godlessness of her priests. Among the pilgrims was one of the noblest women

¹ The Pope came in procession, carrying a gilt taper in his left hand; he struck three blows on the door, when the masons opened it. The same ceremony was performed by three cardinals at the three jubilee basilicas. Burkard.

of Italy, Elisabeth Gonzaga, wife of Guidobaldo of Urbino. Genuine piety brought her to Rome, in spite of the remonstrances of her brother-in-law, the Marchese Francesco. She dwelt in the Palace of Cardinal Savelli, under the protection of the Colonna, but only remained a few days in Rome, and left the city on Easter Eve.¹ The sight of the pilgrims gladdened a pious Camaldolese, a friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, who rejoiced that in the midst of such moral corruption there were still thousands who had not perished in Sodom.² It is a striking testimony to the severance between faith and morals, that on Easter Sunday 200,000 people knelt in front of S. Peter's to receive the blessing of Alexander VI. The pilgrims in Rome might form their own experience of the nature of the Curia, and carry back to their homes the knowledge they had gained. They beheld the splendour and heard of the crimes of the Borgias, and their respect for the Papacy could scarcely be increased, when they saw a beautiful woman come as a pilgrim from the Vatican palace to the basilica, attired in magnificent clothes, riding on horseback, surrounded by a hundred other women on horseback also, and when they learnt that this was Madonna Lucrezia, the daughter of the Pope. The accounts of Gandia's murder, tales of Vanozza, Julia Farnese and other women formed assuredly topics of current gossip in

¹ She wrote to her brother from Assisi, March 21, 1500. Correspondence of Elisabetta Gonzaga. Arch. Mantua.

² Peter Delphinus to Marian. Cucinus, Ep. vi. 26, in *Raynald ad A.* 1500, n. 1.

Rome, where in all ages foreigners have been entertained with the genuine or fictitious mysteries of the faith. These pilgrims, however, willingly offered their Easter gifts, unconcerned by the reflection that their money only served to defray the sins of Rome. The moral conscience of the world, although so gravely offended, still awaited the breath of the spirit that was to give it the knowledge of wrong and the strength of indignation. Indulgences were sold in every country, and papal agents trafficked in remission of sins.

Fortunately for Caesar the year of jubilee coincided with his enterprise in the Romagna. The Pope also added to the revenues by the tithes for the Turkish war, to which he exhorted Christendom, since Bajazet was making preparations for conquering the Venetian cities in the Morea. These tithes were imposed for three years on all clergy, of every rank, and in every country, and an estimate was taken of the revenues of the members of the Curia and the cardinals.¹ The bonfires, which the pilgrims saw blazing in Rome on January 14, 1500, announced that the Pope's son had become master of Forlì. This fortress had been attacked by the French on the 12th. Its chatelaine was conveyed a prisoner to Rome, where her life would have been brought to a speedy close in S. Angelo, but that her heroism touched the hearts of the French. They effected her release after eighteen

Fall of the
fortress of
Forlì, Jan.
12, 1500.

¹ It was proved that nine cardinals each received an income of 10,000 ducats, ten others even more. The wealthiest of all was Ascanio, who had 30,000.

months. Catherine Sforza Riario, since 1498 the widow of her second husband Giovanni Medici, and mother of the afterwards celebrated condottiere of the name, chose a convent in Florence as her asylum. In a letter to the signory of the republic, the Pope himself introduced her as "his beloved daughter in Christ."¹

The joy in the Vatican was scarcely interrupted by the sudden death of the Cardinal-legate Juan Borgia, who fell a victim to fever at Fossombrone on January 14, or, as rumour said, to poison administered by Caesar, to whom he was superfluous. His remains were brought to Rome and buried unostentatiously in S. Maria del Popolo. The Cardinal had been at variance with the Pope, and, it was asserted, was an avaricious man, who practised usury. Caesar had now become master of Imola, Cesena and Forli. Nor did the Venetians hinder his further progress, since they themselves were harassed with the Turkish war and required the Pope to aid them with tithes. For even before the expedition of Lewis XII. the banished Duke of Milan had set the Turks in motion against Venice. During his exile the Duke had engaged Swiss to help him to reconquer his states at a favourable opportunity. As early as December 1499 the King had returned from Lombardy to France, bringing with him the rightful heir to Milan,

¹ Brief, Rome, July 13, 1501. *Arch. Flor. Atti publ.*—The Riarii Sforza, who still survive in Naples, are descendants of Girolamo Riario and Catarina. Catarina's life was written by A. Burriel, *Vita di Catarina Sforza*, Bologna, 1795.

the youthful son of Gian Galeazzo. Under the governor Trivulzio, the French by their rapacity and insolence aroused the indignation of the Lombards, who themselves recalled their banished tyrant. He came at the end of January with his brother Ascanio and at the head of an army of mercenaries. After having unexpectedly lost his realm, he recovered it, as it were by magic; and as early as February 5, 1500, was able to re-enter Milan. This sudden restoration and the war, which broke out on the Po between the re-instated duke and the generals of Lewis XII., who were taken by surprise, compelled Caesar's French auxiliaries to leave the Romagna, and forced Caesar himself to renounce further conquests for the time.

Ludovico
Sforza
recovers
Milan,
Feb. 5,
1500.

He went to Rome. He made his splendid entry on February 26 with a part of his troops, which consisted of Italians, Gascons, Swiss and Germans under the command of Vitellozzo, who stood in his pay. He was received by all the cardinals and magnates, also by the foreign ambassadors. Clad in black satin, a gold chain round his neck, Caesar Borgia rode to the Vatican, surrounded by a hundred Gascons dressed in black, and followed by an escort of honour. The Pope received the Duke of Valence, the conqueror of Forli, with delight. The son threw himself at the father's feet and addressed him a discourse in Spanish; Alexander answered in Spanish, which was the language of his heart. He gave no audiences that day; he wept and laughed at the same moment.¹ In reward

Caesar
Borgia's
entry into
Rome,
Feb. 26,
1500.

¹ *Lacrimavit et rixit a un trato.* Capello in Sanuto, iii. 105.

of his performances, he made Caesar standard-bearer of the Church, an office that had been filled by the murdered Gandia. On April 2 he solemnly conferred the banner and baton of command upon him in S. Peter's. He also presented the fratricide with the Golden Rose. In flattery and fear Rome celebrated festivals of rejoicing. Never had the Carnival amusements been so magnificent. The triumph of Julius Caesar was represented in the Piazza Navona with eleven gorgeously decorated carriages, in honour of the Pope's son, who audaciously adopted Caesar's motto as his own.¹ In the midst of these festivals the news arrived that, on February 24, the Infanta Joanna of Spain had borne a son to the Archduke Philip of Austria, and that the boy had received the name of Charles. The national church of the Germans, S. Maria dell' Anima, was decorated in honour of the birth of the child, the future great emperor Charles V.

Birth of
Charles V.,
Feb. 24,
1500.

If the restoration of Sforza clouded the joy of the Borgia, the fear which it occasioned vanished on the receipt of the tidings that all was at an end in Lombardy. Lewis XII. had sent a fresh army under La Tremouille against Milan, and Sforza, betrayed by his own Swiss, had fallen into the hands of the French at Novara on April 10.² Seldom has history shown so many changes of fortune, seldom

¹ Burkard—Chigi, *Victoria Julii Caesaris, qui sedit in ultimo Carro.*

² This treachery was a disgrace to the Swiss, as were the services which they gave for miserable wages to every despot who paid them. Glutz-Blotzheim, *Gesch. der Eidgen.* Zürich, 1816, p. 177.

have so many terrible tragedies been crowded into so short a space. Fall and restoration, flight and return, victory and defeat chased one another like spectres across the stage of Italy. The whole country reeked of blood, and trembled in dread of the fate which the accumulated guilt of centuries seemed to have invoked. Cardinal Ascanio was taken prisoner near Rivalta by Venetian cavalry under Carlo Orsini. Alexander demanded his release, but the signory of Venice surrendered him to the King of France.¹ With a band of captive prelates, whose feet were tied together under their horses, the proud cardinal was conveyed back to Milan, whence he was removed to the tower at Bourges. Ascanio now received the reward of his share in the election of Borgia to the Papacy. Conscious of the justice of his punishment, he bore his fate without complaint, and assuredly deemed himself fortunate that in a French prison he had escaped the poison of the Borgia. The sight of his fall shows the uncertainty of fortune; but far more dreadful was the fate of his brother. During the ten long years that elapsed until his death, the murderer of his nephew, the traitor to his country, pined in a gloomy dungeon of the fortress of Loches in Berry, in his hideous solitude a prey to the furies of conscience, whose stings no single redeeming

Sforza
defeated
in Milan,
April 1500.

Ascanio
and
Ludovico
Sforza
prisoners
in France.

¹ On May 4, 1500, the Pope sent the Bishop of Tivoli to the Doge, requesting that Ascanio might be surrendered to him and not to France, and this under penalty of excommunication. *Istruzioni date Rev. Dom. Ep. Tiburtino, dat. Rom. IV. Maji 1500.* Mscr. Barberini, book of instructions, n. 2279, p. 329.

thought served to allay. This frivolous but highly cultured man had been driven to crime by the lust of power. His history offers one of the most terrible examples of evil entailed on a whole nation by the ambition of a prince.¹

Fortune was now the slave of the Borgia. For Lewis XII. could no longer detain his troops for the conquest of the Romagna. The father's coffers were filled with the wealth amassed in the jubilee, and this wealth served to acquire troops. The boldest plans were conceived. Pilgrims to the jubilee were stupefied by the intoxication of the iniquitous city, where, as in antiquity, the Bacchanalian atmosphere was at the same time saturated and poisoned by suffering. When, after gazing on the image of the Saviour depicted on the Handkerchief of Veronica, these pilgrims returned to the city across the Bridge of S. Angelo, they saw on high a row of men, who had been hanged on the battlements of the fortress, among them the physician to the Hospital of the Lateran. This man had long been accustomed to shoot passers-by with arrows at daybreak in order to rob them, and to poison wealthy patients, pointed out to him by the confessor to the hospital.² And when

¹ *Vir singulari prudentia, sed profunda ambitione, ad exitium Italiae natus.* Jovius, *Histor.*, i. 6. On account of the encouragement which he gave to studies and art in the age of Leonardo da Vinci, Ratti (Famil. Sforza) calls him the Pericles of Milan. See also Rosmini, *Storia di Milano*, iii. 273.

² Of the terrible conditions that existed in Rome, the celebrated rhetorician, Raffaello Brandolini, who lived there, has left us an authentic description : *rapiuntur hic virgines, prostituuntur matronae,*

from the sacred basilica the pilgrims came forth on the piazza on the floral festival of S. Giovanni, they beheld the Pope's son seated on horseback at the steps of S. Peter's, hurling lances against bulls within a wooden enclosure. With herculean strength, such as Pipin's, he severed the head of one of these animals from the body at a single blow, and all Rome stood in admiration of his brutal strength.¹

Meanwhile the Pope was attacked by fever. Roman satire composed a dialogue between him and death, which again spared him in an accident that followed.² On the afternoon of June 29 he was sitting in a room in the Vatican, when a sudden storm burst over the palace, and a chimney fell through the roof, carrying with it people from the upper floor and killing Lorenzo Chigi, brother of the celebrated Agostino. The datary Ferrari and the chamberlain Gaspar sprang into the recess of a window, shrieking, "The Pope is dead!" The cry re-echoed through Rome, and Caesar may well have turned pale! The city rose in momentary confusion; several Spaniards fled to S. Angelo; the citizens rushed to arms; messengers hurried to the exiles to tell them that now was the time to return and take vengeance on their enemies. But meanwhile

Imminent
danger of
Alexander
VI. in the
Vatican.

subripiuntur sacra, diripiuntur aedes, deturbantur passim in Tyberim homines, diu noctuque trucidantur impune. To Manfredo de Manfredis, Rome, September 13, 1500 (communicated by G. Brom, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1888, p. 190).

¹ Burkard and Polo Capello. Report of September 28, 1500.

² *Dialogus mortis et Pontificis laborantis febre* (Sanuto, iii. fol. 209).

cannons announced from S. Angelo that the Pope was still alive.¹ He was found sitting among the *débris*, protected by a curtain, but with two wounds on his head, and was carried out. On July 2 he caused thanksgivings to be offered to the Virgin, with whose special protection he believed himself favoured.² His natural force was inexhaustible. "The Pope," said Polo Capello, in September 1500, "is seventy years old; he grows younger every day, his cares do not last a night; he is of cheerful temperament and only does what he likes; his sole thought is for the aggrandisement of his children; he troubles about nothing else."

The wounds on Alexander's head were not yet healed, when a terrible tragedy was enacted before the jubilee pilgrims. At eleven o'clock on the night of July 15, as the young Prince of Bisceglie left the Vatican to return home, he was attacked and stabbed at the steps of S. Peter's. The murderers

The Prince
of Bisceglie
attacked by
murderers,
July 15,

¹ *Mittuntur ad exules tabellarii, advenisse tempus in patriam redeundi*. . . Letter from Rome, July 18, 1500, of Raffaele Brandolinus to Manfredo, the envoy of Ferrara (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1888, p. 182).

² He himself informed the Bishop of Tivoli, his nuncio in Venice, of the accident: *nonnulli nos querentes sub hoc panno quasi latitantes oppletos muror. ac lignor. fragminib. reppererunt—capite ac brachio ac duob. dextre manus digitus vulneratis*. July 4, 1500; Sanuto, iii. 354. The Venetian ambassador visited the Pope on July 3: *erra com soa santita madona lugrenia la princessa e so marito e una soa damisella sta con mad. lucrecia che è favorita del papa*. Alexander VI., constitutionally inclined to swoon, was frequently in danger of his life. On October 5, 1500, he was rescued by the Cardinal of Capua from a savage old stag, which attacked him in a vigna. *Ibid.*, iii. 662.

escaped among a band of horsemen, who carried them off to the Porta Portese. The Prince staggered to the Pope. "I am wounded," he said, and he named the murderer. His wife Lucrezia, who was present, swooned. The Prince was carried to the neighbouring palace, which he made his abode, that of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu.¹ The mysterious way in which Burkard relates the tragedy (we seem to be dealing with spectres) leaves a sinister impression, and art would never have veiled the horror more transparently than prudence has done in this case. "The illustrious Don Alfonso, Duke of Bisceglie and Prince of Salerno, was seriously wounded on the evening of July 15, but since he determined not to die of the wounds then received, he was strangled in his bed on August 18, about the first hour of the night. His remains were carried to S. Peter's. They were followed by Don Francesco Borgia, treasurer of the Pope, and his family. The physician of the dead prince, and a certain hunchback with whom he had associated, were brought to S. Angelo. They were examined by the Inquisitors, but were soon released, since the

¹ Polo Capello, in Sanuto, iii. 616. The ambassador was at the time in Rome, which he left on September 16. During the sixteen months and twenty-five days that he filled the office of ambassador he had only spent 2900 ducats.—This for the information of diplomatists in Rome. According to Brandolini's letter to Manfredo, Rome, September 13, 1500, Alfonso was nursed in the Vatican itself: *Cum Pont., ut est hominum versutissimus, sive ad tollendam tanti facinoris suspicionem, sive ad majorem potius benevolentiam genero significandam, sauciam ad se deferri jubet, haud procul a cubiculo suo collocat, . . .* and he had physicians even brought from outside (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, p. 192).

man who had entrusted them with the commission went unpunished, and he was well known.”¹

There is another account of the bloody deed, which openly mentions Caesar as the murderer. Round the wounded man were his wife Lucrezia and his sister, the Princess Squillace. In fear of poison they prepared his food, and from the same suspicion the Pope caused him to be guarded by sixteen men. One day he visited the invalid unaccompanied by Caesar. Caesar also came once and said, “That which did not take place at noon will take place in the evening.” People actually believed that they saw a demon pass to and fro. The Pope, the women, almost the entire court knew that Caesar would kill the prince—no one could save him. For of what was the terrible man not capable who had stabbed the Spaniard Pedro Caldes, Alexander’s favourite chamberlain, under Alexander’s very mantle, so that the blood spurted into his, the Pope’s, face?² Caesar returned another day; he entered the

¹ *Liberati parum post, cum esset immunis, qui mandantibus ceperat optime notum.* Burkard—Chigi, p. 2123. The text is corrupt; the Cod. Chigi has: *cum essent immunes; quod mandantibus capi, erat optime notum.*

² Capello, on September 28, 1500. The letter to Silvio Savelli of November 1501 says: *Pontificis cubicularius Perottus in ejus gremio trucidatus.* According to letters in Sanuto, iii. 626, his body was found in the Tiber (February 1498), and with it a *Donzela di madona lugrecia — anegata, chiamata madona panthasilea alias creatura di esso pontefice.* Burkard—Chigi records on February 14, 1498: *Petrus Caldes, Perottus—qui Jovis prox. praeteriti 8. huius in nocte cecidit in Tiberim non libenter in eod. flumine repertes est, de quo multa dicta sunt per urbem.* The text in Eocard calls him *Petrus Calderon Perottus.*

room, where the already convalescent prince stood up; he forced the terrified women to leave it, he called Michelotto, the minister of his bloody acts, who strangled Bisceglie. The prince was buried at night. Caesar openly acknowledged that he had murdered him, because Bisceglie cherished designs against his life.¹ The terrible deed was everywhere discussed through the city, but only in secret and terror. The bodies of murdered men were daily found in the streets, and others, even prelates of high position, disappeared as it were by magic. Caesar now ruled the Pope himself. The father loved his son but trembled before him.² Lucrezia also (she had a son by Alfonso, who was called Rodrigo) was obliged to submit to the commands of a brother who had made her a widow. He temporarily ousted her from the Pope's favour. He had deprived her of Sermoneta, for "she is a woman," he said, "and cannot defend it." Certain it is that Alexander sent his daughter to Nepi only at Caesar's desire.³ Lucrezia

is strangled
by Caesar
Borgia.

¹ Capello, as above. *E il duce ebbe a dire, di averlo fatto ammazzare, perche tramava di ammazar lui, e di questo faria il processo, e lo vole mandare alla Signoria* (of Venice). Some more immediate details in Brandolini's letter.

² *Item il papa ama et ha gran paura di fiol ducha qual è di anni 27 bellissimo.* The same ambassador.—Caesar—in *fratrem qui deservisset—sororemque incestaverit Lucretiam; Ecclesiae Thesaurus qui effuderit; Timori quoque Alexandro patri qui fuerit*: M. Attilius Alexius in Baluze, *Miscell.*, iv. 517.

³ The ambassador *ut supra*: *che prima erra in gracia dil papa madona Lucrezia soa fiola, la qual è savia e liberal, ma adesso il papa non lama.* The coldness was, as Tommaso Gar supposes, due to Lucrezia's lamentations over the death of her husband. (Note to Capello's report.) It did not last long.

Lucrezia
Borgia
goes to
Nepi.

left the city on the last day of August, attended by 600 horsemen, to recover her equanimity, which had been shaken by the death of her husband. Such, at least, are the terribly laconic words of Burkard. If Lucrezia loved her husband, then was her fate indeed tragic, and the girl must have revolted at the thought that she was nothing but the victim of her brother's deadly will. Caesar got rid of Alfonso, not on trifling personal grounds, but rather because he wished to set free the hand of his sister, in order that he might form an alliance—favourable to himself—with the house of Ferrara, at a time when the connection of the Borgia with Naples had lost all value.

The dead were quickly forgotten, for the living had enough to do. More money was required. Twelve new cardinals, among them six Spaniards, whom the Pope, or rather his son, had created, paid for their hats in handing a sum of 120,000 ducats over to Caesar. With the most barefaced candour Caesar explained to the Sacred College that these cardinals were necessary because he required money for his war in the Romagna.¹ Among these new slaves of Caesar were his brother-in-law d'Albret, Ludovico and Juan Borgia, and Gian Battista Ferrari.

With French aid he first drove his former brother-in-law from Pesaro in October 1500, then Pandolfo Malatesta from Rimini, and encamped before Faenza.²

¹ *Il ducha a cavalcha dali Rev. Card. pregando siano contenti di far novi cardinali accio lui habi danari per l'impresa di romagna.* Report of the new Venetian ambassador, Marino Zorzi, of September 24-25, in Sanuto, iii. 625. The latter comments: *e saldono li conti e li jurono fidelità.*

² Giovanni Sforza went first to Venice, then to Mantua. Many

The lord of this city was Astorre Manfredi, a youth of seventeen, whose beauty and virtue had made him the idol of his people. The inhabitants of Faenza defended the city for months, until on April 25, 1501, hunger forced them to an honourable capitulation. Caesar promised indulgence to the citizens, and free exit to Astorre, but immediately broke his oath by sending the unfortunate boy to the dungeons of S. Angelo.

Fall of
Astorre
Manfredi
of Faenza.

Alexander now created his son Duke of the Romagna. In making the largest province of the Sacred Chair a patrimony of his house, he remained untroubled by the thought that this province, made hereditary in the Borgia dynasty, must entail the ruin of the entire State of the Church. No opposition was raised by the Sacred College; poison and sword had reduced the cardinals into a trembling choir of servants or flatterers of father as well as son. The college was purposely filled with Spaniards. The Duke desired nothing more ardently than to make Bologna the capital of his territory. He carried on correspondence with the Mariscotti, but the vigilance of Bentivoglio and the protection which he received from France frustrated Caesar's plans, and he was obliged to remain satisfied with Castel Bolognese and a body of auxiliaries, whose number was stipulated by treaty.¹ The Mariscotti expiated their conspiracy on the scaffold.

Caesar
Borgia
Duke of the
Romagna.

of his letters are preserved in the Gonzaga Archives and the State Archives at Milan.

¹ The beginning of May 1501. On June 1, 1501, the Pope conferred Castel Bolognese upon him. Brief *dilecto fili. nob. viro Caesari Borgiae de Francia duci Romandiolae*, Raynald, n. 16.

Imola, Forlì and Pesaro, Rimini, Faenza, Cesena and Fano formed his dukedom for the present. To these territories he hoped to unite the whole of Central Italy. Spoleto was already in the hands of the Borgia; a bull had already deprived Julius Caesar Varano of Camerina.¹ The Duke's progress was checked, however, by the jealousy of France. His attempt against Florence was also unsuccessful. The fruitless war with Pisa exhausted the republic; in 1499, repulsed by the already almost conquered city, the Florentine general Paolo Vitelli had atoned for his misfortune by his death, when his brother Vitellozzo in revenge joined the Medici. These exiles had invariably been defeated, but nevertheless continued to threaten their ancestral city, and even formed an alliance with Caesar Borgia. Reinforced by the auxiliaries of Bentivoglio and in concert with Piero Medici, Vitellozzo and the Orsini, some of whom with other nobles had become his condottieri, the Duke entered Florentine territory in May 1501. For after having vainly made war on the Orsini, the Borgia now adroitly utilised their services, in order to expel other nobles, and then to reward these allies in their peculiar fashion. The audacious demands of the Duke, who sent his secretary Agapito Gerardini to Florence, more especially his desire to restore the Medici, terrified the signory. They purchased their exemption in taking Caesar "in condotta" at a salary of 36,000 ducats, but without any obligation as to actual service, and

The
Florentines
purchase
immunity
from
Caesar
Borgia,
May 1501.

¹ *Raynald ad A.* 1501 n. 17. In this bull fratricide is announced as the reason of the excommunication.

pledging themselves not to protect Jacopo Appiano of Piombino.¹ For Caesar immediately directed his attention against this noble. Some places within Appiano's dominions, even Elba and Pianosa, made submission to Caesar, but Lewis XII. commanded him to halt, and Alexander recalled him. He left a portion of his troops under Giampolo Baglioni and Vitellozzo before Piombino, and hurried to Rome, which he entered on June 13, 1501.

Lewis XII. proceeded to carry out his enterprise against Naples. Too weak to accomplish it without the consent of Spain, he had made Ferdinand his associate in an abominable crime. The secret treaty, which was concluded at Granada on November 11, 1500, by the two monarchs, one of whom was called the Most Christian, the other the Catholic, is one of the most disgraceful documents of those cabinet politics, which, under the sanction of the Pope, were now inaugurated in the history of Europe. The fact that he invited another monarch to become his rival was moreover a clear testimony to the incapacity of Lewis XII. The two kings promised each other to attack Naples simultaneously, and so to divide the kingdom that Calabria and Apulia should fall as a duchy to Spain, the remaining provinces with the capital as a kingdom to France. The Pope was to be asked to confer the respective investitures, and as he hated Frederick and was entirely devoted to Lewis on Caesar's account, his consent was undoubted. Moreover, the alliance between France

¹ Deed of May 15, 1501. Canestrini in the *Archiv. Stor.*, xv. 269. Nardi speaks of the circumstance with shame.

and Spain rendered the Roman barons defenceless against the attacks of the Pope.

The overthrow of Aragon was accomplished, like so many falls in the history of dynasties, in the person of an innocent prince. Frederick was beloved by his people. His reign would have assured them a period of prosperity, had it been possible to remedy the evils which the feudal nobility had brought on the Kingdom. The King still remained ignorant of the treaty, but not of the preparations of France. Fear and weakness impelled him to seek an alliance with the Turks, which however was never effected. Although he feared the claims of his relation, the powerful King of Spain, he hoped for his protection. With the aid of the Colonna, he believed that he could resist the French army on the frontier.

The French under Aubigny arrived in the neighbourhood of Rome, and in June encamped beside the Acqua Traversa. The envoys of France and Spain explained to the Pope the contents of the treaty between their masters. The premeditated robbery was cloaked under the hypocritical name of religion, for the monarchs alleged as the essential reason of the war against Frederick the fact that he had invited the Turks to Italy. The conquest of Naples was merely the introduction to the great Crusade against the Crescent.

Treaty
dividing
Naples
between
Spain and
France

Alexander proclaimed Frederick deposed as a traitor to the Kingdom, and agreed to the partition of Naples between the two kings, who, in return, were to take the oath of vassalage to the Church.¹

¹ Bull *Regnans in Altissimis*, in Raynald, n. 53. It is at the

If this act suffices to show Alexander's treachery, at the same time it diminishes the credibility of such witnesses as try to prove the Pope a great statesman. He evidently cherished the wily intention of driving the two powers into fierce war with one another, and in consequence foolishly hoped that he might be able to make Caesar King of Naples. sanctioned
by the
Pope.

On June 28 the French army, which was joined by Caesar Borgia with some troops, set forth for the conquest of Naples. On their march the forces destroyed Marino and other towns of the Colonna, for this house remained faithful to Aragon, which had decided in its favour the long dispute with the Orsini concerning Alba. The sudden fall of Naples was only the repetition of the melancholy past, but it was rendered more deplorable by the treachery of Spain towards its kinsman. Frederick had appealed to Gonsalvo for aid, and, on the General's treacherous demand, had surrendered to him the fortresses of Calabria and Gaeta. As soon as the French entered the Kingdom, the Spaniard threw aside his mask, and Frederick retired to Capua in utter dismay. Fabrizio Colonna held this fortress for him, while Prospero commanded in Naples. Capitulation was discussed, but, in the midst of the negotiations, the enemy stormed the walls, and on July 24 Capua suffered the terrible fate of a conquered city.¹

same time a constitutional document. This long document was signed by eighteen cardinals.

¹ The terrible misfortunes of Capua are described by Jean d'Anton, *Histoire de Louys XII.*, ed. Godefroy, c. 54. Caesar retained for himself forty beautiful girls. Several threw themselves into the Volturno.

Fall of
Capua,
July 24,
1501.

rizio was made a prisoner. Caesar offered immense sums to the French general if he would either put him to death or surrender him into his power, but the noble-minded John Jordan Orsini rescued his hereditary enemy, who was allowed to purchase his freedom.

The frightful carnage at Capua disarmed all who still remained in arms for the last of the house of Aragon. Frederick shut himself up in Castel Nuovo, while all Naples shouted the name of France. He held parley with Aubigny and went first to Ischia. Among the unfortunate fugitives assembled in the Castle of the island, one woman above all was calculated to awaken pity. This was that Isabella who had suffered the ruin of the houses of both Milan and Naples, and who now beheld the fall of the last remains of the greatness of her ancestors, while she bewailed the fate of her own son, a prisoner in France.¹ Aghast with horror at the treachery of his relation, Frederick in despair resolved to seek an asylum for himself and his children with the less criminal of his enemies. Lewis XII. gave him the duchy of Anjou and an annual pension. The melancholy days which he passed in France were alleviated by the devotion of the companions of his exile, among whom was the poet Sannazaro. Frederick of Aragon died at Tours on September 9, 1504.

¹ Giannone, xxix. c. 3. Gilbert of Montpensier visited the tomb of his father at Pozzuoli at this time. He threw himself down beside it in tears, and died of grief on the spot. This was the brother of the afterwards celebrated Constable de Bourbon.

Before leaving Naples he had sent Don Ferrante, his eldest son, to Taranto. The town surrendered to Gonsalvo on condition that the little prince should be allowed to journey to his father, but the treacherous Spaniard disgraced his name by breaking his solemn oath. He sent the boy a prisoner to Spain. There Frederick's son died childless, but not until 1550.¹ Such was the tragic end of the house of Aragon, which during a century had filled the history of Naples and Italy with more crimes than virtues. Like Anjou, the house was foreign to the country, but speedily became nationalised. The court of Aragon had been conspicuous from the time of Alfonso for the protection extended throughout the beautiful Kingdom to learning and art. And not until the fall of the Aragonese did the country sink into its miserable servitude under foreign dominion. The house of Aragon also vanished in Spain. For the perfidious Ferdinand left no male descendant to inherit the crown. His son John had already died on October 1497, and already Charles was born to the house of Austria, a child on whom an unparalleled degree of fortune was to bestow the heritage of half the world.

¹ Frederick's second son Alfonso died at Grenoble in 1515; Caesar, the third, at Ferrara at the age of 18.

Ruin of
the house
of Aragon
in Naples.

4. ALEXANDER SEIZES THE ESTATES OF THE COLONNA—
 LUCREZIA, REGENT IN THE VATICAN; WIFE OF
 ALFONSO OF ESTE — PIOMBINO SURRENDERS TO
 CAESAR—ALEXANDER DIVIDES THE PROPERTY OF
 THE BARONS OF LATIUM BETWEEN TWO OF THE
 BORGIA—MARRIAGE OF LUCREZIA WITH THE HER-
 EDITARY PRINCE OF FERRARA; HER JOURNEY TO
 FERRARA, JANUARY 1502 — CAESAR, TYRANT IN
 ROME — THE POPE GOES WITH HIM BY SEA TO
 PIOMBINO — MURDER OF ASTORRE MANFREDI—
 CAESAR MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF URBINO AND
 CAMERINO — HIS GOOD GOVERNMENT IN THE
 ROMAGNA — CARDINAL FERRARA IS POISONED—
 LAMPOON AGAINST THE POPE.

The fall of Naples offered the Pope the desired opportunity to rid himself of the barons of Latium. The power of these nobles dated from the days of the Empire and fell with the imperial authority. No longer able to lean on the emperor, they sought for support under the crown of Naples or France. Since the time of Charles VIII.'s invasion, the Colonna had attached themselves to the dynasty of Aragon, while the Orsini adhered to France. But even before the beginning of the last war, the Colonna, in fear, had ceded several of their fortresses, among them Subiaco, to the College of Cardinals. The Pope however would not hear of treaties. He caused the Colonna fortresses to be garrisoned, and after the fall of Capua went in person to Sermoneta.

It was on this occasion, that in his absence Alexander entrusted his daughter with the care of the

Vatican palace and all his affairs. She had authority to open letters that arrived, concerning which, in cases of difficulty, however, she was to take counsel of the Cardinal of Lisbon. In all the history of the Papacy there is nothing that reveals a lower depth of its shameless secularisation than this fact. We do not know what impression it made on the Romans. They probably rested satisfied with pasquinades and applauded the jokes, which the Cardinal of Lisbon made on the fair secretary who displayed her activity in the Cabinet.¹ Madonna Lucrezia filled the office but for a short time, for the Pope returned in the beginning of August, and Rome soon afterwards learnt that his daughter was to be married to Alfonso of Ferrara. The reception of the longed-for tidings, namely, that the haughty house of Este sanctioned the alliance, was celebrated in Rome by the thunder of cannon and illuminations. On September 8 the future duchess of Ferrara went in magnificent procession to S. Maria del Popolo, when her train consisted of four bishops, who preceded her, and 300 horsemen. Jugglers

Lucrezia
Borgia
regent
in the
Vatican.

¹ *Ubi est penna vestra? intellexit Lucretia Cardinalis mentem et facetiam, et subrisit: concluderuntque sermonem suum convenienter.* Burkard. Pasquino was bitter. On his statue in August were read the following lines:

Praedixi tibi, papa, bos quod esses.

Praedico: moriere, si hinc abibis,

Succedet Rota consequens Bubulcum.

The *Rota* was the arms of the cardinal of Lisbon. These lines were apparently written by Fedra Inghirami, and Agostino Vespucci wrote to Machiavelli how they were composed in and scattered about the palace, Rome, August 25, 1501; the letter is printed in Villari, Machiavelli, i. Doc. p. 560 f.

paraded the streets shouting: "Long live the illustrious Duchess of Ferrara! Long live Pope Alexander!"

Caesar also came from Naples to Rome on September 15, 1501, and here learnt that his troops had taken Piombino. During his sojourn in the Vatican the question concerning the future of the Colonna estates was decided. The heads of the family still remained in Naples: Fabrizio and Prospero had first followed the King to Ischia, and then, dismissed by him, had not hesitated to enter Gonsalvo's service as condottieri. On August 20 the Pope pronounced the ban against the Colonna and Savelli, and confiscated their property.¹ On September 17 he then divided the entire possessions of the Colonna, Savelli and Gaetani, of the barons of Pojano and Magenza, and the Estouteville, between two little children of the Borgia family. Rodrigo, the two years old son of Lucrezia and the murdered Alfonso, received Sermoneta, Ninfa, Norma, Albano, Nettuno, Ardea, and other places. A second child, Giovanni Borgia, the offspring of the Pope himself, was provided with Nepi, Palestrina, Paliano, Rignano and other towns.² The Pope

Alexander VI. divides the property of the Latin barons between two bastard children of the Borgia, Sept. 17, 1501.

¹ See the long bull *Dudum iniquitatis filii*: Rayn., n. 17. Among the Colonna is mentioned also Pompeius, the afterwards celebrated cardinal. Cardinal Giovanni was deprived of his estates.

² *Johes de Borgia Infans Dux Nepesinus*, about three years old. For all further particulars see my work *Lucrezia Borgia*, which also contains the disgraceful bulls of the Pope of September 1, 1501. In the first he legitimised Giovanni as the son of Caesar, in the second he acknowledged the child as his own. Rodrigo, as Duke of Sermoneta, received 28 towns. Giovanni, as Duke of Nepi, 26. The Cardinals of Alessandria and Cosenza were procurators for

raised Palestrina, Nepi and Sermoneta into duchies; he conferred the Abbey of Subiaco with its eighteen fortresses in perpetuity on the Borgia family. The bull was signed by the nineteen cardinals who were then present, among them Caraffa, Sanseverino, Cesarini, Farnese, Pallavicini and Medici, the last of whom had returned to Rome from his travels for pleasure in Germany and France. No one ventured on any remonstrance. In this wise Alexander VI. suppressed the Ghibelline nobility of Latium, whose services he had previously employed against the Orsini. The turn of these Guelf nobles was to follow presently; but meanwhile they still served as useful instruments in Caesar's army, or stood in French pay. Almost the entire State of the Church was by this time a possession of the Borgia. Caesar owned the Romagna and other territories; the ancient hereditary estates of the Roman barons were held by other members of the house. It was an entirely new condition of things in the annals of the Church.

On September 25 the Pope went with Caesar to Nepi and Civita Castellana, and again Madonna Lucrezia took her father's place in the Vatican.

The fall of Aragon, the crimes which accompanied it, Caesar's presence, the shameless advancement of the house of Borgia, and finally its unexampled good fortune, all appeared both in Rome and the papal palace to have removed the last barrier which

these children. Burkard calls Giovanni's mother *quædam Romana*. Sigismondo de' Conti, *Hist.*, xiv. 249, says of the Pope: *etiam in extrema ætate liberis operam dabat.*

prudence is accustomed to hold between crime and its publicity.¹

The marriage of Lucrezia with the hereditary prince of Ferrara, the widower of Anna Sforza, was concluded at the Pope's desire at the intervention of the King of France, to whom the Este were entirely devoted. The oldest house in Italy could not feel otherwise than dishonoured by union with Borgia's bastard daughter, a woman of doubtful reputation, and one who had been already married three times. But after long hesitation, and in spite of the warning of the emperor, fear compelled Ercole and his son to consent. In Ferrara the Pope acquired a support for Caesar. He hoped to conquer Florence for his son, and for this undertaking Pozzi, the Ferrarese orator, even proposed the aid of Alfonso, the hereditary prince.²

Sigismund, Ferdinand and Cardinal Ippolito, the younger brothers of Alfonso, came to Rome to

¹ I pass over, as unworthy of consideration, the anecdotes *de convivio 50 meretricum* and the like, in which, for the rest, Burkard, Matarazzo and the letter to Silvio are agreed. Even although chroniclers and poets enlighten us as to the corruption of the time, feeling revolts at accepting many of their statements as true. Concerning the proceedings in the Vatican, Agostino Vespucci wrote to Machiavelli: *Restavami dire, che si nota per qualcheuno, che, dal Papa infuori, che vi ha del continuo il suo greggie illecito, ogni sera XXV. femine et più, da l'avemaria ad una hora, sono portate in Palazzo, in groppa di qualcheuno, adeo che manifestamente di tutto il Palazzo, è factosi postribulo d'ogni spurcitie* (Rome, July 16, 1501, in Villari, Machiavelli, i. Doc. p. 680).

² In which proposal the Pope apparently acquiesced. Pozzi to Ercole, Rome, January 5, 1502. Este Archives at Modena; Carteggio di Pozzi Giovan Luca da Pontremoli (afterwards Bishop of Reggio).

receive the bride. These nobles with several hundred horsemen halted at the Ponte Molle, where they were awaited by the magistrates of the city with 2000 horse and people on foot. Caesar appeared riding a charger, whose trappings were valued at 10,000 ducats. He was preceded by 2000 men and followed by 2000 more. Nineteen cardinals, each with a retinue of 200 horsemen, received the guests at the Porta del Popolo. The ceremonies of reception lasted two hours, when the festal cavalcade, which formed an entire army, proceeded to the Vatican amid the roar of cannon.¹

The marriage was celebrated on December 28, Ferdinand of Este acting as proxy for the bridegroom. Strains of music summoned Lucrezia from her palace to S. Peter's. Alexander's bewitching daughter appeared in a dress of gold brocade; her train was carried by maids of honour, and she was followed by fifty noble Roman ladies. Her golden hair, floating over her shoulders, was only confined by a black silk ribbon; her neck was encircled by a string of pearls. She was thus led by the brothers Este to her father in the Aula Paolino, where the ceremony was performed by thirteen cardinals. Cardinal Ippolito presented his beautiful sister-in-law with a valuable ring and a casket, which contained a bridal ornament of sparkling jewels, the heirlooms of the haughty house of Este. After the marriage festival and banquet several days were passed in races, tournaments, hunting and dramatic representations, at the expense of the discontented city.

Marriage
of Lucrezia
Borgia and
Alfonso of
Este, Dec.
28, 1501.

¹ Account from Sanuto, in Brown, ii. 190.

Her departure for
Ferrara,
Jan. 6,
1502.

On January 6, 1502, Lucrezia left the Vatican with her escort of honour. The papal court, the cardinals, envoys, nobles and people escorted her through the Porta del Popolo. The Cardinal of Cosenza, Francesco Borgia, undertook the courteous duty of acting as legate of Madonna's progress through the State of the Church. She was protected by an escort of 600 cavalry. The cortège was not only everywhere maintained at the expense of the towns, but pageants were celebrated in its honour. A representation of the story of Paris was given at Foligno in a procession of triumphal cars. The mythical prince gallantly repeated his classic judgment; he now awarded the apple to Lucrezia, since her beauty surpassed that of all other goddesses.¹ In order to please Caesar, who was soon enough to reward him for his chivalrous services, the Duke of Urbino escorted Lucrezia from his capital onwards. At Bologna she was received by the Bentivogli. Fear everywhere extorted the like magnificent festivals and honours.

Lucrezia
Borgia in
Ferrara.

When, like a queen, Lucrezia entered Ferrara on February 2, it was not with empty hands. Besides her dowry of 100,000 gold ducats, she brought to her husband as a present from her father the towns of Cento and Castel della Pieve, and what was more, the security of his own states.² Ferrara celebrated festivals of fabulous magnificence, in which the

¹ Pozzi, Foligno, January 13, 1502.

² On September 17, 1501, Alexander had ratified Ferrara as a duchy, and for Ercole, Alfonso and the children which should be born to him and Lucrezia, had reduced the annual tribute from 4000 ducats to 100 florins. Bull in Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii. n. 427.

whole of pagan Olympus was called into requisition. But the tone of the marriage proceedings was perfunctory and cold.¹ The daughter of the Borgia brought with her the memory of a painful past, and reports had preceded her, which, even if unfounded, would have thrown any noble-minded woman into agonies of distress. She may have been glad to exchange Rome for less corrupt Ferrara, and here she outlived the fall of the Borgia. Few women in history have exercised so great a fascination on contemporary and after generations as Lucrezia, who only required wider opportunities to become a Cleopatra. The figure of the Pope's daughter between her terrible father and brother, in part their tragic victim and an object of pity, in part a seductive siren, and lastly a penitent Magdalen, exercises a charm on the imagination by the mystery which surrounds her, and in the obscurity of which guilt and innocence struggle for supremacy, while in the background stands the ever-interesting spectacle of the Vatican. As Duchess of Ferrara Lucrezia Borgia renounced the passions of her early life. Like her mother Vanozza, she abandoned herself to devotion and works of Christian piety. She thus spent tranquil years with Alfonso (to whom she bore several children) until her death on June 24, 1519. But during this period no one ever looked into her soul, where it is hard to believe that the terrible spectres of memory were ever laid to rest.

¹ *Nozze fredde*. We may read what Isabella of Este, sister of Alfonso, wrote to her husband Gonzaga at Mantua; she congratulates him that he was not present. *Archiv. Stor.*, ii. 303.

Caesar
Borgia,
tyrant of
Rome.

Caesar now remained the sole ruler of the will of the father, whom he had placed in a position of isolation. The Pope even condescended to become his tool. Caesar was the absolute tyrant of Rome, which he filled with police and spies. Even to speak against him was high treason. A masquerader expiated the liberty by the loss of hand and tongue, which were nailed together. The Venetian ambassador was unable to save a fellow-citizen who had circulated a pamphlet. The man was strangled and thrown into the Tiber. Even the Pope himself, not very sensitive in such matters, censured his son on this occasion. His words are worthy of remark. "The Duke," he explained to the envoy, "is a good-natured man, but he cannot tolerate affronts. I have often told him that Rome is a free city, and that everyone may write and speak as he pleases. Evil is even spoken of me, but I let it pass." The Duke replied: "Rome is accustomed to write and speak; it is well, but I will teach such people repentance." The Pope finally reminded him how much he himself had forgiven, and especially at the time of Charles VIII.'s invasion, so many cardinals, whom the King himself had called his betrayers. "I could," he said, "have sentenced the vice-chancellor and Cardinal Vincula to death, but I did not wish to harm anyone, and I have forgiven fourteen great nobles."¹

¹ Beltrando Costabili to Ercole I., Rome, February 1, 1502. Archives of Modena: *Et havendoli dicto che Roma he Terra libera et che li he consuetudine de dire, et de scrivere como l'homo vole, Et che anche de la Santità sua se dice male, ma che lei lascia dire. . . .*

On February 17 he embarked with his son and six cardinals for Piombino. He wished to see the fortresses that Caesar had built there, and perhaps also to acquaint himself with the designs entertained against Florence and Pisa. He could leave Rome with an easy mind, for the city never rose in the name of morality or freedom against the Borgia. He passed the first night at Palo, the second at Corneto, where he occupied Vitelleschi's palace. Festivals were given in his honour at Piombino; he was present at the performance of beautiful dancing girls, a form of amusement that he had greatly favoured in his younger days. On February 25 he sailed for Elba, and on March 1 left to return to Piombino. The sea was so rough that he was again threatened with drowning on the same coast where he had formerly suffered shipwreck, when returning from the Spanish legation. With difficulty he reached Porto Ercole. Here he scorned to enter an English vessel, which would have borne him in safety through the storm. The sea was still high when he set forth on March 5; but he remained calmly on board, devouring the fish that was set before him. From Palo, where he spent the night, he continued the journey to Rome on horseback. He returned on March 11. No one came to greet him. It was night and he did not wish for any reception. The household of the palace, however, caused trumpets and pipes to be sounded.¹

¹ Date of the departure: Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, February 16, 1502.—*Et nemo venit ei obviam* (Burkard). This is explained by

Alexander
VI. and
Caesar
go to
Piombino,
Feb. 1502.

Astorre
Manfredi
strangled
in S.
Angelo,
June 1502.

Alexander at this time provided S. Angelo with artillery, which he had bought from the inventory of the ex-King Frederick from Ischia, for 50,000 ducats. The fortress had been restored after the explosion, and with the Torre di Nona formed the dreaded prisons, where hundreds of victims of the Borgia pined. Here languished the young Astorre Manfredi with his brother Octavian and other companions in misfortune. On June 9 their bodies were recovered from the Tiber, where, after having been strangled, they had been thrown by Caesar's orders. No victim of the monster merited greater compassion than the innocent and handsome youth from Faenza.¹

On June 13 (1502) Caesar left Rome to continue his bloody work in the Romagna. He had done much, but much was still to do. The Roman territory as well as the city, sunk in death-like stillness, now obeyed the Borgia. The power of all the barons was ruined in Latium; they wandered as exiles through the world. In Tuscany the Orsini adhered to the Borgia; but their hour was to come. In Central Italy, Caesar already owned

Beltrando, Rome, March 11, 1502: *per esser sera sua Santità non ha voluto essere incontrata da alcuno, et he intrato per la vigna.*

¹ *Reperti sunt in Tiberi suffocati ac mortui A.D. Faventiae juven. XVIII. annor. in circa, pulchrae formae et staturae cum balista ad collum, et duo juvenes per brachia simul ligati, unus XV. annor., et alius XXV., et prope eos erat quaedam femina, et multi alii.* Burkard. Guicciardini expresses his suspicion of a still more diabolical crime against Astorre, v. 259. According to Vettori, *Il Sacco di Roma*, p. 454, Caesar caused him to be strangled by Bianchino da Pisa, *il quale adoperava per ministro in simili crudeltà.*

a great part of the Romagna, whose territories were crushed under the iron hand of his cruel lieutenant Don Ramiro d'Orco. In the Maremma Piombino formed the basis of his operations against Pisa and Florence. The house of Este, to which he was so closely related, protected him on the Po. His aim was now to rally all his forces, and set up as King on the throne of Central Italy.

The latter half of 1502, and the first of the following year reveal the terrible spectacle of Caesar's actions on both sides of the Apennines. He appears therein as a destroying angel of such diabolical cunning as to make us shudder at the depravity of human nature. His victims, however, scarcely wakened compassion. The greater part in the fulness of their sins were ripe for the sickle of such a reaper. In their own spheres the petty tyrants resembled Caesar Borgia in craft and wickedness. The hideous tragedy of the Baglioni in Perugia, the carnage on the night of July 14, 1500, when Carlo Barciglia murdered his kinsman Guido, and Guido's sons Astorre and Gismondo and others in their sleep, and the terrible revenge taken by Giampolo, suffice to show in what seas of blood the Italian tyrants were steeped at this time, and how necessary it was that there should arise a destroyer such as Caesar.

Following the example of Gonsalvo at Naples, he first gained Urbino by the most audacious fraud. Guidobaldo, deceived by letters of the Pope and his son, disarmed himself in order to lend Caesar the aid of his troops, and then saw the traitor suddenly ap-

Caesar
seizes
Urbino by
treachery,
also
Camerino,
June 1502.

pear at Cagli as an enemy. He fled across mountain and river until he reached Mantua. His young heir Francesco Maria Rovere escaped by other routes. On June 21, 1502, Caesar occupied the whole of the defenceless state of Urbino.¹ He himself went thither and seized all objects of value in Federigo's magnificent palace. These were estimated at 150,000 ducats. Part of the splendid library he ordered to be packed and sent to Cesena, where he himself had already formed a library.² By like treachery he acquired Camerino. He caused the tyrant of the place, Julius Caesar Varano, the murderer of his brother Rodolfo, to be thrown with his two sons into prison. Henceforward he called himself: Caesar Borgia of France, by the grace of God Duke of the Romagna and of Valence and Urbino, Prince of Andria, Lord of Piombino, Gonfaloniere and Captain-general of the Holy Roman Church.³ The cities trembled, the magistrates

¹ Communal Archives of Urbino: *Memorie de quanto si fece dal Duca Guidobaldi e suoi Popoli—nel tempo che il Duca Valentino prese quel Stato*. Communal Archives of Fano: *Libri dei Consigli*, A.D. 1502, June 22. Guidobaldo describes his flight in a letter to Cardinal Julian from Mantua, June 28, 1502. Dennistoun, i. 385. In September Guidobaldo and Elisabetta went from Mantua to Venice, whence several letters of both are dated: Gonzaga Archives.

² According to Jacob Ziegler, *Acta Paparum* (Ranke, *Deut. Gesch. im Zeitalt. der Reform.*, Fifth edition, vol. ii. 364), Caesar sent the library of Urbino to Rome; this is, however, probably a mistake.

³ *C. B. de Francia, dei gr. Dux Romandiole Valentique et Urbini, princeps Handrie, Dom. Plumbini, etc., ac S. R. E. Gonfalonarius et Capitan. Gener. . . . Dat. in castris ad Sirmignanum die V. m. Julii MDII. Ducatus vero nri. romandiole II.*, to *Vandino de Vandinis de Faventia*, whom he appoints his lieutenant for

prostrated themselves before him in the dust. Flatterers exalted him to the skies as another Caesar.¹ His government was energetic and wise. For the first time the Romagna enjoyed peace and freedom from its vampires. Justice was administered in Caesar's name by Antonio of Monte Sansovino as president of the Ruota of Cesena. He was a man universally beloved. Neither did one of the greatest intellects of Italy scorn to enter his service: Leonardo da Vinci became his architect and engineer, and was

Gubbio. Communal Archives of Gubbio, *Libri Reform.*, A.D. 1502-1506, fol. 12, and other letters there and in the Palazzo Comunale at Fano.—The King of Spain had invested him with the Duchy of Andria; so Beltrando informs Ercole I., Rome, March 27, 1502.

¹ In the Palazzo Comunale at Fano I found (*Lib. ref. Vol. A. 1501-1503*) a poem of the chancellor of the town, which says, that flight was no longer possible before Caesar's arms:

*Quocunque en fugias Caesar Dux Inclytus instat,
Caesar ubique manet: Caesar Dominator ubique
Syderibus tutus, Fatis et tutus amicis—
Pontifice adjutus, Gallorum alque impetu magno—
Nullus cum aequabit: sua nec Regalia gesta;
Caesaris imperium nostri ducis ecce per omnem
Italiam jam jam colitur; procedit: amatur—
Non alium volumus Dominum: nec querimus [ullum]
Nos quam Caesarum Jubar Hoc Regumque Ducumque;
Omnipotensque preces nostras exaudiat omnes,
Caesar in aeternum vivat Dux Borgia semper!*

Court flatterers extolled the greatness of Caesar, who extended his favour to artists and literary men. Among these were his eloquent private secretary Agapito Gerardini of Amelia, Battista Orfino of Foligno, Francesco Sperulo of Camerino, Pier Francesco Justolo of Spoleto, who wrote Latin panegyrics upon him. *Justuli Spoletani opera*; ed. Rome, 1510, Spoleto, 1855. See concerning him Cesare Borgia, *Duca di Romagna*, by Edoardo Aloisi, Imola, 1878, p. 98 f, 150 f.

to build the fortress of the Romagna for him. It is possible that Caesar's daemonic nature may have attracted the vigorous character of Leonardo, who, in the service of Ludovico Sforza, had already been witness of terrible events. The men of that age breathed another moral atmosphere than ours.¹

Failure of
Caesar's
attempt on
Tuscany.

The Duke was aided in his enterprise by several petty tyrants, whom he had taken into his pay, such as Vitellozzo Vitelli and the Orsini. Vitellozzo, raised by the Pope to be Count of Montone on May 1, 1502, the deadly enemy of the Florentines, had taken Arezzo as early as June, and in July conquered Borgo S. Sepolcro in Caesar's name. Giampolo Baglione, the banished Medici, and Pandolfo Petrucci, first tyrant of Siena, united with him to work the ruin of Florence. Under pretext of restoring the Medici, Caesar determined to seize Tuscany. The Florentines appealed to France for protection, and Lewis XII., who regarded the annexations of the upstart with misgivings, again commanded him to halt and sent troops to Tuscany.

Couriers informed the Pope of every success of his son. He caused the city to be illuminated when he heard of the fall of Camerino. Cardinal Ferrari, a man of harpy-like avarice, and formerly the most active tool of the Pope in financial matters, died at this juncture. An infallible white powder ended his

¹ Caesar's letter, *dat. Papias, A.D. 1502* to all his lieutenants and captains: *Comandamo che al nro. prestantimo et dilectmo familiare Archetetto et Ingegnere Generale Leonardo Vinci d'essa ostensore —debbiano dare per tutto passo libero. . . .* In Carlo Amoretti, *Memor. Stor. su la vita di Lionardo da Vinci*, p. 85.

days, and his wealth fell into the hands of the Borgia. Epitaphs were showered on the Cardinal's coffin and were scattered about the Vatican. Burkard has collected twenty-five of the wittiest, and they still serve to transport the reader back to the atmosphere of that time.¹ No one stood higher in Alexander's confidence than this Modenese. A few months before his death, he ventured to show the Pope a lampoon that had been written against him, and his audacity perhaps proved fatal to him. The accusation came, it is said, from Germany, in the form of a printed letter, which a banished Roman from the Spanish camp before Taranto had addressed to Silvio Savelli, who dwelt in exile at Maximilian's court. Burkard has also preserved this letter, which is an authentic document concerning the conditions of Rome under the rule of the Borgia. No other writing has so well depicted the crimes of these men, their policy in great and little, and the state of terror in which the city shuddered, filled as it was with murderers. At the close the author—probably one of the Colonna—appeals to the princes of Europe to deliver the world from this scourge.²

Lampoon
against
Alexander
VI. and the
Borgias.

¹ *Hic Baptista jacet, cujus potuere cadaver
Sub terra haeredes condere, non scelera.
Hac Janus Baptista jacet Ferrarius urna :
Terra habuit corpus, Bos bona, Styx animam.
Ne dicas, sit terra levis, nec spargite flores :
Nummos, si requiem mi dare vis, numera.*

² *Magnifico D. Sylvio de Sabellis apud Ser. Romanor. Regem—datum Tarenti ex Castris Regiis, die XV. Nov. (i.e. 1501).* The Pope mentions this Sylvio in his bull of excommunication against the

5. LEWIS XII. IN NORTH ITALY—THE ENEMIES OF THE BORGIA AND CAESAR HASTEN TO HIM—DEFECTION OF THE CONDOTTIERI—HE OUTWITS THEM—THE POPE THROWS CARDINAL ORSINI INTO PRISON—CAESAR IN UMBRIA—THE ORSINI LEADERS ARE EXECUTED—CAESAR BEFORE SIENA—REVOLT OF THE BARONS IN LATIUM—CAESAR IN THE PATRIMONY—CARDINAL ORSINI POISONED—CAESAR IN ROME—CAPITULATION OF CAERE—JOHN JORDAN CONCLUDES A TREATY—CARDINAL MICHEL POISONED—STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE POPE—GONSALVO DEFEATS THE FRENCH IN NAPLES—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE BORGIA AND SPAIN—FALL OF TROCHIO—CREATION OF CARDINALS—THE FRENCH ARMY SETS FORTH AGAINST NAPLES—DEATH OF ALEXANDER VI., AUGUST 1503.

Meanwhile events in Naples recalled Lewis XII. to Italy, for the war concerning the sole possession of the criminally acquired booty had broken out between France and Spain. On the King's arrival in Asti at the end of July 1502, several nobles of Italy, enemies or victims of the Borgia, hurried to him in complaint. Cardinal Orsini also fled to him

Colonna and Savelli. Perhaps the best of the epigrams against Alexander was produced at this time.

*Vendit Alex. claves, altaria, christum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.
De vitio in vitium, de flamma crescit in ignem,
Roma sub Hispano deperit Imperio.
Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et Iste.
Semper sub Sextis perdit Roma fuit.*

These verses also came to Germany, and with several other epigrams on the popes may be found in Ziegler's *Acta Paparum*.

from Rome. The monarch gave ear to all. Caesar also hastened to his presence after having previously taken counsel with his father in Rome, and met the King at Milan in August. With irresistible skill he won to his side Cardinal Amboise, who may possibly already have entertained hopes of the tiara, and finally the King himself, whom he accompanied to Genoa.

Lewis XII.
in Milan,
Aug. 1502.

The intentions of the Duke concerning Bologna, suspicion as to the plans of the Pope, who wished to entice the Orsini to leave Caesar's camp and come to Rome, terrified all those petty tyrants, hitherto Caesar's allies or condottieri, to whom they so thoughtlessly had lent their arms for the overthrow of Montefeltre and Varano. They told themselves that they would be defeated one after another, unless they took common measures for their safety. The Orsini, Charles bastard of Virginius, Paul son of Cardinal Latinus, Cardinal Giambattista himself, Francesco, Duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto the cruel tyrant of Fermo, the artful murderer of his uncle and benefactor, Giampolo Baglione of Perugia, Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena, the Bentivogli of Bologna took counsel in person or by deputy in La Magione near Perugia. They collected a force of 10,000 men and suddenly raised their arms against Caesar. His general Ugo Moncada was killed at Fossombrone, and it was with difficulty that Michelotto escaped. Guidobaldo from Venice and Giovanni Maria Varano from Aquila immediately returned to their estates, which joyfully received them. The rebellious

The Con-
dottieri
rise against
Caesar
Borgia.

captains seized several fortresses, advanced to Fano and threatened to shut up the Duke in Imola.¹

The defection of his condottieri exposed Caesar to the gravest danger, since their decisive action would have shattered his power and driven all the enemies of the Borgia as far as Rome to revolt. In their necessity the Pope and his son turned to the King of France, and Lewis, who believed that he required the Borgia in the war against Naples, came to their rescue. He commanded Chaumont to advance with some troops against Imola, and effected a reconciliation between Caesar and the irresolute condottieri. Meantime the Florentines, whom these leaders had invited to join them, refused the alliance from hatred to the Vitelli and Orsini, relations of the Medici, as well as from want of confidence in the success of the revolt. On the contrary they sent Machiavelli, their secretary, to Imola, to secure peace and to give the harassed duke assurances of friendship. Here the great thinker found himself for the first time in the neighbourhood of the dreaded man, whom he made the ideal of his "Prince."² The Duke of Ferrara also offered to send troops to the Pope, if he were

¹ S. Leo rose on October 8. On the 15th Paul Orsini entered Urbino. He announced the fact to the Doge Loredano: *Urbini* 15. Oct. 1502, Sanuto's *Diar.*, iv. 132. Guidobaldo returned on the 18th. *Memorie* in the Communal Archives of Urbino. *Vita di Guidobaldo*, vol. ii.

² *Legazione al Duca Valentino* (first account, Imola, October 7), and *Descriz. del modo tenuto dal D. Valentino nell' ammassare Vitelliozzo, Oliverotto, etc.* Report to the Ten; both accounts in vol. ii., *Legazioni e Commissarie di N. Machiavelli*, Edition of L. Passerini and G. Milanese, Florence and Rome, 1875.

reduced to straits by the revolt of the Orsini.¹ Already in January 1502 Alexander had prudently caused Civita Castellana to be fortified, in order, he said, to serve as a refuge for himself and the cardinals, or after his death for his son. On September 17 he inspected the new fortress.²

Terrified by the menaces of France, divided among themselves, entangled amid the artifices of the Borgia, the condottieri consented to a separate contract with Caesar. On October 25 Paul Orsini came to Imola, where he concluded a treaty. All the others returned to the pay of the man who had already brought them to the brink of ruin. When this treacherous reconciliation was accomplished on October 28, Cardinal Orsini, warned in vain, went to Rome in November, in response to an invitation contained in letters from the Pope. Bentivoglio, whom Alexander had likewise invited, fortunately remained behind, either from suspicion or because he was prevented by the Bolognese. Guidobaldo, finding himself defenceless, was forced to come to an understanding with Caesar, and again left his father's palace a fugitive on December 8. In like manner the son of that Varano, who had been strangled by Michelotto at Pergola on October 18, fled from Camerino.³

They allow themselves to be duped by Caesar Borgia.

Scarcely did Caesar find himself saved, when with

¹ Ercole to Beltrando in Rome, October 19, 1502.

² Beltrando to Ercole, January 10, 1502. The same to the same, September 17, 1502. The Pope returned to Rome on September 19.

³ On December 7, 1502, Alexander by a bull commanded the people of Camerino to expel the Varani; *Dante dal Re, Discorso critico sui Borgia* (Arch. della Societ. Romana, 1881, iv. 106).

silent contempt he spread a net to entangle the duped condottieri. They had already helped him once more to drive Montefeltre and Varano from their states, whither they had been summoned by these nobles themselves. They then consented to undertake the subjugation of Sinigaglia, while the French auxiliaries were unexpectedly recalled. From the time of Sixtus IV. Sinigaglia had belonged to the Prefect Giovanni Rovere, husband of Joanna of Montefeltre, a sister of Guidobaldo. On the death of Guidobaldo in 1501, Alexander had ratified his son Francesco Maria (aged 11) in the prefecture of the city. The young heir of Urbino, brought by his uncle in his earlier flight to a place of safety, now found himself with his mother in the fortress of Sinigaglia, which the afterwards celebrated Andrea Doria defended against the condottieri. Doria first sent the princess and her son by sea to Venice at the end of December 1502, then went himself to Florence. He ordered his lieutenant to defend the fortress. The condottieri now demanded its surrender; the lieutenant explained that only to the duke would he deliver up the keys.¹ They thoughtlessly summoned their destroyer, forgetting that a deeply injured enemy could never become a sincere friend.

The cunning with which Caesar entrapped his victims is less surprising than the utter blindness with which men expert in every crime fell into the snare. Leaving neighbouring Fano, the duke commanded them to remove their troops to the district

¹ Ricotti, *Compan, di ventura*, ii. 340.

of Sinigaglia, since he himself with his forces wished to occupy quarters in the town. They foolishly obeyed him. When Caesar now appeared before Sinigaglia on December 31, he greeted the nobles with hypocritical cordiality. A good genius warned them in vain. As if under a spell, they stumbled into the dragon's mouth. Vitellozzo came without armour, dejected and filled with foreboding, but he came.¹ The Duke invited the captains into the palace where he had taken up his abode, and scarcely had they entered when they found themselves surrounded by soldiers. Vitellozzo killed one; he, Oliverotto, Paul Orsini and the Duke of Gravina were seized. Pandolfo Petrucci escaped. Caesar ordered the troops of the prisoners, to be disarmed, while he sacked Sinigaglia. Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were strangled in the evening, it was said, sitting on two chairs back to back. They died without dignity. Oliverotto in tears threw all the blame on Vitellozzo, and Vitellozzo in his last hour expressed no nobler thought than the desire to receive absolution from the Pope—from an Alexander VI.²

He en-
traps and
destroys
them in
Sinigaglia,
Dec. 31,
1502.

Vitellozzo
and
Oliverotto
are
murdered.

¹ In Sinigaglia Machiavelli was a witness of the treachery, which he held justifiable. — He depicts Caesar's cunning in his *Decennali*, i. :

*E per pigliare i suoi nemici al vischio,
Fischio saevemente, e per ridurli
Nella sua tana, questo bavalischio.*

² His brother Paul had been executed, his brothers John and Camillo had fallen in war. For particulars, see *Descrizione del modo*. . . . After the death of Liverotto, the town of Fermo was obliged to beg the Pope to give it Caesar as lord. But Alexander, instead, bestowed Fermo on Lucrezia's son, Don Rodrigo. Documents from

The events that should have proved unfortunate to Caesar consequently redounded to his advantage. After having made use of their services, he had with one stroke rid himself of his enemies, even of the Orsini. Not only could he now demand from the world recognition of his sagacity; he was also able to give a show of justice to his action. The same day he sent couriers to various powers of Italy, to explain that he had anticipated his betrayers and rewarded their treachery as it deserved.¹ His messenger arrived in Rome on January 3, 1503, where the most extravagant festivals were in progress, Carnival having begun at Christmas time.² On the news that the *coup* had succeeded, that some of the victims were dead, others in chains, Alexander on his side bestirred himself to effect the concerted

the Archives of Fermo (*Alcuni Docum. della Storia di Fermo relativi a Liverotto ed ai Borgia*, by G. Fulvi, 1875).

¹ *Li ho prevenuto et facti presoni tutti ad un tratto per imponere qualche fine alla infinita perfidia e malignità loro del che me rendo certo che la Serenità V. pigliera piacere* — it was a good example. To the Doge Loredano, *Senogallie ultimo Decembris MCIII*. Sanuto, iv. 205. The Florentines and other princes immediately sent congratulations on the success of the *coup*. Isabella of Mantua wrote to him on January 15, and sent him 100 beautiful disguises for the carnival. A scheme was on foot for a marriage between Isabella's eldest son and Caesar's daughter.

² Burkard (*Cod. Chigi*, fol. 184): *Post prandium* (December 25) *venerunt ad plateam S. Petri larvati, — habentes nasos longos et grossos in forma priaporum — unus in veste longa et capello antiquo Cardinalari, quem sequebantur plures tamquam capellani — equitabant asinos — ostenderunt se Papae*. On December 24, 1502, the Pope told his clergy that he would complete his seventy-first year on the last day of December. He presented each with 80 ducats, *rogarent Deum quod ab eo centum ducatos recipiant, quod faceret, si adhuc XIV. annis supraviveret. Ibid.*

capture.¹ Letters from Caesar had exhorted him to seize the Orsini, who were now in Rome. These letters were read aloud to the Pope at night by his secretary Adrian. And in order not to excite Alexander's suspicion, in case Cardinal Orsini warned by others escaped, the secretary did not leave the Vatican. The Pope at once caused the Cardinal to be informed that Sinigaglia had surrendered. The following morning Orsini rode to the Vatican to tender his congratulations. On the way he met the governor of the city, who allowed it to appear that the meeting was accidental. As soon as the Cardinal entered the Sala del Papagallo, he was surrounded by armed men. He turned pale; he was conducted to the Borgia tower. At the same time were arrested Rinaldo Orsini, the Archbishop of Florence, the Protonotary Orsini, Jacopo Santa Croce, a relation of Virginius, and the Abbot Bernardino d'Alviano, a brother of the celebrated Bartolommeo. The governor immediately rode to the palace of Monte-Giordano, which he sacked. The mother of the Cardinal, a woman of eighty, tottered through the streets like a maniac; no one ventured to offer her shelter.² Her son was taken to S. Angelo; his treasures to the Vatican.

Alexander
VI. throws
Cardinal
Orsini into
S. Angelo.

On January 5 Don Jofré went with troops to take possession of Monte Rotondo, other fortresses

¹ The same day Alexander wrote to the Florentines that Caesar intended to conduct the Orsini to Civita Castellana: they were to hold auxiliaries in readiness, and occupy all the passes, so that Guidobaldo should not escape. Rome, January 3, 1503, signed *Hadrianus. Arch. Flor. Atti pubblici.*

² Sabellicus, *Ennead.*, xi., lib. i., at the end, and Sanuto.

Alexander
seizes the
estates of
the Orsini.

of the Orsini, and Farfa, for at such price were the prisoners forced to purchase their life. S. Croce, who had paid 20,000 ducats for his, was obliged to accompany the Pope's son to conclude the transfer.¹ Thus the hour of ruin had come for the Orsini also.

In vain all the cardinals went to the Pope to sue for grace for their colleague; he replied that Orsini was a traitor and a party to the conspiracy against the Duke. Rome was thrown into deepest consternation. Every day men in high position were carried to S. Angelo. Every man of rank or property feared to see his name on the proscription-list. Even the Medici who dwelt in exile in Rome trembled. Sinolfo, Bishop of Chiusi and Apostolic Secretary, died of terror. On February 1 the headless trunk of a man, clad in scarlet, was found at the Ponte Sisto. What was to be expected when Caesar, the angel of destruction, came to Rome with his troops.

The masterly capture of his condottieri inspired universal respect for the power of the duke. Many extolled him, even the King of France called it the act of a Roman.² Caesar was indeed the dragon that devoured the smaller serpents.³ As early as January 1, 1503, he left Sinigaglia to march through the territories of Central Italy, while the impression

¹ Burkard and the orator Beltrando are in perfect accord as to this.

² *Avrebbe fatto un azione da Romano*: Beltrando to Ercole, i., January 23, 1503.—*Con bellissimo inganno ammassati gli Orsini*, said Jovius, afterwards, in the *Vita di Cesare*.

³ *Et pour ce on donna à ce dit César pour devise un Dragon devorant plusieurs serpents avec ces mots: unius compendium alterius stipendium*. Brantôme, *Vies des homm. ill.*, ii. 222.

of the recent terror was still fresh. The affrighted tyrants fled before him like hunted animals; the Vitelli from Città di Castello, Giampolo Baglione from Perugia. His cunning was feared, but not his sword; for the man who ruled half of Italy had indeed laid siege to cities, but had never fought a battle. Passing by Gualdo, he entered Umbria. Città di Castello surrendered; Perugia offered him the signory on January 6. He appointed Carlo Baglione regent in the name of the Church, but did not enter the city. His intentions were directed against Siena, whither Petrucci had escaped. While on his march he learnt (at Castel della Pieve) of the arrest of the Cardinal, and on January 18 he caused Gravina and Paul Orsini, whom he had brought with him, to be strangled. Thus was Paul Orsini punished for the imprudence he had committed while in the service of the Borgia. In September 1498 he had caused his son Fabio to marry the young Hieronyma, a sister of the Cardinal Giovanni Borgia.¹ Machiavelli accompanied Caesar as orator of the Florentines, and the Duke ordered him to induce the republic to make war on Siena, while Alexander wrote hypocritical letters to Pandolfo.²

¹ Deed of September 8, 1498 : Beneimbene, *Book of Protocols*.

² Letters drawn up by the secretary Agapito (de' Gherardi of Amelia), preserved in the Archives of Gubbio, show that on January 2 Caesar was *in castris pontificiis ad Corinaldum*, whence he informed the magistrate of Perugia of what had taken place (Letter in Vermiglioli, *Vita di Malatesta Baglioni*, App. I.). On the 10th he was at Torsciano, on the 13th at C. della Pieve, where peace was proclaimed between him and Bentivoglio; on the 25th at Pienza. See also the legation of Machiavelli, who accompanied him as far as Città de Pieve.

before
Siena.

The Pope secretly both desired and feared the enterprise against Siena, for the city stood under the protection of France. He censured his son in public, upbraiding him for doing everything for his own advantage and of wishing to embroil him (the Pope) with the whole of Italy. He affected to be so incensed that he even called him bastard and traitor, and threatened him with excommunication. Meanwhile it was believed that he was angry because the Duke asked him to send him 30,000 ducats at once.¹

Caesar caused some fortresses to be sacked in the district of Siena; he sent letters to this city, and, with the most appalling threats, required the immediate banishment of Pandolfo. On January 28 the tyrant explained that he would depart for the benefit of his native country, and the same day went to Lucca. Obedient to treaty, Caesar now quitted the territory of Siena, and surrendered the spoils he had taken. His secretary, however, came to the city and insisted that Pandolfo should be proclaimed an exile.²

Urgent messengers summoned the Duke to the Patrimony. For on both sides the Tiber the remainder of the barons had risen to avenge the fate of their relations and to avert their own. The heads of the Orsini at this time were John Jordan,

¹ Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, January 23, 1503.

² Archives of Siena. Threatening letter from Caesar to the Balìa, *in pontif. castris ad Pientiam die XXVII. Jan. 1503*; and *Lettere della Balìa* to Jacopo Piccolomini, which contain the account given above in the text.

Lord of Bracciano, and Nicholas, Count of Pitigliano, John in the service of Naples, and Nicholas in the pay of the Venetians. While they appealed to the protection of their respective powers, their relations formed an alliance, which was joined by the Savelli and some of the Colonna. Mutius Colonna and Silvius Savelli seized Palombara; Fabio Orsini, son of Paul, who had been strangled, and Julius, brother of the imprisoned Cardinal, took up arms at Cervetri and Bracciano. On January 23 the barons even attacked Ponte Nomentano, when Rome rose in commotion. The Pope brought troops into the Vatican, but the Orsini were driven back.¹ The Archbishop Aldobrandini of Nicosia, a son of Pitigliano, escaped from the city. It was here said that John Jordan was coming from Naples; the Pope required his surrender from France; the French ambassador refused. Alexander in anger declared that he would extirpate the entire house!² He shut the doors of the fortress in suspicion and caused Julius Orsini to be informed that he held him responsible for the death of the Cardinal.

The
Roman
barons rise.

The duke now hastened to the Patrimony in the beginning of February. The cities which had been traversed by his soldiery, Aquapendente, Montefiascone and Viterbo, were filled with horrors of every description.³ The Orsini, too weak to resist, everywhere fled; the terrified Savelli forsook them

¹ Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, January 23, 1503.

² *Volemo extraditar tale casa.* Report in M. Sanuto, iv. fol. 208.

³ On February 12 Caesar wrote to the Cornetans, *Viterbii in Castris Pontificiis.* Corneto Archives.

The Orsini
are pro-
tected in
Bracciano
by France.

and surrendered Palombaro to the Pope. Bracciano alone was capable of serious resistance. On February 16 the Pope sent artillery to besiege the castle, which must be taken at any cost. Caesar, however, was afraid of the King of France, who shielded John Jordan, and consequently quarrelled with his father. Alexander openly complained of his son in consistory; at the same time he advised the cardinals to provide artillery for the defence of their palaces, because an attack of the Orsini was to be feared.¹

The approach of the Duke filled Rome with terror. Cardinal Ippolito left the city in fear on February 15 to return to Ferrara.² Meanwhile Cardinal Orsini, formerly the instrument of Alexander VI.'s elevation, remained in S. Angelo, a prey to remorse and painful memories. His mother daily sent him food, until she was at length forbidden. In vain the Cardinal offered large sums to obtain his freedom; in vain his mother did likewise. One day she sent her son's mistress in disguise to the Pope with a valuable pearl that Alexander had coveted. He took it and allowed her to send food to her son. "But it was universally believed that the Cardinal had already drunk of that cup which

¹ On February 20 Burkard and the Venetian ambassador are agreed on this. *Si dolse chel Ducha non volea andar contra Juan Zordan dicendo la faremo nui l'impresa el fa per el re qual si doveria bastar di franza e lassar nui far di cose nostre.* M. Sanuto, iv. 275, of March 4.

² Beltrando to Ercole, February 18, 1503. Burkard assigns as reason: *propter indignationem quam Dux Valent. assumpsit contra eum, quia idem Card. diligebat et cognoscebat Principissam (namely Sancia) uxorem fratris dict. Ducis, quam et ipse Dux cognoscebat carnaliter.*

had been mixed for him at the Pope's command." Nevertheless Alexander allowed the unfortunate man to be told that he must be of good courage and take care of his health. While poison was already coursing through his veins, the Pope declared to the cardinals in consistory that he had ordered the physicians to take the greatest care of the prisoner. On February 15 it was reported that the Cardinal was ill of fever; on the 22nd he died, while Caesar remained at Sutri and besieged Caere. At the command of the Pope forty torch bearers, the governor Monsignor Adrian, and the prelates of the palace accompanied Orsini's remains to S. Salvatore.¹

Cardinal
Orsini
poisoned,
Feb. 1503.

Caesar himself came to Rome at the end of February, but only went abroad masked. He is supposed to have been thus present at a comedy represented in the palace on February 27.² All the fortresses of the Orsini were now in the power of the Duke, Bracciano, Caere and Vicovaro excepted. And the Pope burned with impatience to see the fall of these places also. Despatches from the King of France, however, forbade any further injury to be inflicted on John Jordan. The Duke consequently would make no further move, and his hesitation

¹ *Papa commisit socio meo, ut haberet curam funeris defuncti. Ego nolui interesse; nolui enim sapere plusquam oporteret.* Burkard here breaks off his diary of the reign of Alexander VI.—The orator Beltrando announces to Ferrara that the death had taken place *mezz'ora di notte del 22 Febr.* The Cardinal had been ill *circha 12 d.* On February 22 Caesar dates from Sutri (Gubbio Archives).

² *Ma non si dimostra, et va im Mascherato.* Beltrando, Rome, ult. February 1503.

The fortress of Caere capitulates.

irritated his father to such a degree that he issued a brief ordering an immediate attack on Bracciano, under threat of the ban and the loss of his fiefs.¹ Forced in this wise, the duke now determined, on March 12, to go to Caere, before whose walls he had left his lieutenants the Count Ludovico della Mirandola, Ugo Moncada and Michelotto Coreglia.² He only quitted Rome on April 6, and while on the way learnt that the fortress, which was under Julius Orsini, John Orsini and his son Renzo, had capitulated. These nobles surrendered themselves and the place to Caesar's mercy; he immediately conducted Julius Orsini to the Pope and begged for his release.³ Alexander now hoped to accomplish the entire ruin of the Orsini, and it was only the veto of France that temporarily protected the family.

John Jordan, who had secretly arrived at Bracciano, retired to Celle in the Abruzzi. The Pope made him cunning overtures. In exchange for the Orsini possessions in Roman territory, Alexander offered

¹ This was merely a pre-arranged game. Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, March 1, 1503.

² All three as *capitani generali de lo fel. exercito dello Illmo S. Duca Valentino* issued an order, *dato in Campo ad Cere die 9. martis 1503*, signed *Michael Corella manu prop.* Corneto Archives.

³ Caesar vaingloriously announced this act of magnanimity to the Marquis of Mantua. *El—S. Julio Ursino, el quale era dentro con molti altri signori, spontaneamente ne uscì et venne ad ritrovarce con alcuni de li predicti, remetiendo la terra et persone dessi, a la discretione et arbitrio nro., et noi havemo hogi conducto el dicto sig. Julio ali Pedi de la sanct. de nro. S. et si strectamente l'havemo recomandato ad S. Beat., che per respecto nro. l'ha receptuto in gra. e reposito in sua liberta. Ex urbe et palatio Aplico VII. Apr. MDIII. Cesar Dux Romandiola Valentieque. Agapitus.* Gonzaga Archives.

the principality of Squillace or compensation in the March of Ancona. On April 8, 1503, the Orsini found himself obliged, by the mediation of the French ambassador, to sign a treaty in which he accepted these proposals and received a passport for a journey to France. Here he could take counsel with the King, his protector, concerning further particulars.¹

John
Jordan
Orsini
accepts a
treaty.

Caesar returned to Rome. He was now the most formidable man in Italy. His successes, the means of the Church, his audacity and strength gave him the appearance of a formidable power. Mercenaries and condottieri rushed to follow his fortunes. Spaniards were installed as his overseers in almost all the fortresses of the State of the Church. But everything that he accomplished, he owed, not to valour or military genius, but to crime and treachery.² In these arts he was the master of his age, the entire policy of which he corrupted.

He had advanced from crime to crime. On April 10 Cardinal Giovanni Michiel (nephew of Paul II.),

Cardinal
Michiel
poisoned,
April 1503.

¹ Orsini Archives, T. 131. n. 14, Italian copy of the treaty. *Die sabb. VIII. April 1503. Convenuti personaliter nello Castello delle Celle sub. Jll. D. Joan. Jordano qd. D. Virginii de Ursinis.* Envoy of the Pope: D. Michele Romolines; Orators of France: *Roberto Ep. de Rodo et lo magnf. Sig. D. Rogero de Gramonte.* John Jordan is entitled: *de Aragonia conte de Tagliacozzo Capit. Gen. de Francia et sub ordine Sci Michaelis miles.* The King would not agree to these negotiations. The edict of Alexander VI., given in Rome on April 11, which announces that a truce has been concluded with the Orsini, is preserved in the Archives of Corneto.

² *Era el Duca in questo tempo el primo capitano de Italia, non già per grande intelligenza d'arme, ma per tradimento e forza de denari, e aveva redutte le guerre in quel tempo in tradimento, che ogni homo da lui aveva imparato.* Matarazzo, p. 221.

whose wealth Caesar had coveted, died of poison in S. Angelo. Scarcely had he passed away when his possessions, worth 150,000 ducats, were removed from his house. The Pope was radiant in health and prosperity. He seemed more than mortal. When he read Mass on April 17 people marvelled at the sonorous strength of his voice.¹ On April 24 he went with Caesar to Anguillara, to visit the castles conquered from the Orsini. On May 11 he also visited some of the estates which had formerly belonged to the Colonna.²

As the Borgia looked on their work, they confessed that their success was incredible. The two factions of the nobility in Rome, never before kept in check, were now shattered; all the remaining barons, all the tyrants in the State of the Church were exterminated or expelled; Rome was reduced to patient servitude; the Cardinals' College to a trembling obedient senate; the Curia to a corrupt, serviceable instrument; powerful allies had been acquired or were to be acquired with skill. Alexander now contemplated bestowing the title of King of the Romagna and March upon his son, but he feared the opposition of France, which would not tolerate a Borgian monarchy. Such a monarchy might prove formidable, since it would unite the spiritual with the secular authority. The Papacy

¹ *La Sant. Sua canta la messa in S. Pietro tanto armoniosamente, et cum tanta prosperitate de corpo et de voce, che non se poteria più.— et era in uno stato di valida salute.* Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, April 17, 1503.

² The same to the same, April 24 and May 11.

remained its centre, Christendom the source of its finances. Of the two consummate masters of diplomatic art, father and son, one was in a position to cover with the shield of religion the misdeeds of the other.

When, however, the Borgia surveyed the sphere of their activities, they perceived that it did not extend beyond the State of the Church, and even here was interrupted by Bologna and Ferrara. They forged plans against Tuscany, where Pisa in despair offered the signory to Caesar. Informed of the fact, Lewis XII. concluded a league between Florence, Siena, Lucca and Bologna, which was also to support him in Naples. Pandolfo Petrucci was thus enabled to return to Siena as early as March 29, 1503. But the divisions in the league strengthened Caesar's hopes, which were further encouraged by secret negotiations with Spain. The turn of affairs in Naples opened new prospects before him. For Spain, at war with France, saw in Charles an ally, and in the support of Spain Caesar beheld an effective means of extorting concessions from Lewis XII. A new field thus presented itself for the arts of the statesman.

With the April of 1503 Gonsalvo had entered on his brilliant campaign in Apulia, and the celebrated, duel of February 13, with which it was inaugurated, seemed a favourable omen. Thirteen Italians triumphed over an equal number of Frenchmen, but their victory, which still survives in song and story, is inseparable from the shame involved in the fact that the combat took place in the service of a foreign

Overthrow
of the
French in
Naples,
May 1503.

master, the conqueror of their country.¹ Aubigny and Nemours were repeatedly defeated. Gonsalvo entered Naples on May 14, and the remains of the French army sought refuge in the strongly fortified Gaeta. Thus was Lewis XII. unfortunate in Naples, like Charles VIII., and all the pretenders of the house of Anjou. A French historian sees in his disaster the hand of heaven, which punished the King for his alliance with the infamous Borgia.² It is indeed undeniable that, but for the protection of France, the crimes and greatness of the Borgia could never have assumed such vast proportions. And the King might now confidently await the thanks which he had earned from his protégés.

They looked with satisfaction on the defeat of France, and rejoiced over the victory of Spain.³ They could now exact a high price for their aid to one or the other side. Lewis XII. equipped a new army, which La Tremouille was to lead through

¹ The thirteen Italians of the *Disfida* were taken from the brigade of Fabrizio and Prospero Colonna; among them were two of their vassals, Michele Tosi from Paliano, and Giovanni Bragaloni from Genazzano. The following epitaph may still be read in S. Pantaleone in Rome: *Laudomie Johis Brachalonii Qui Inter Tredecim Italos Cum Totidem Gallis Certavit Et Vicit Filiae Francisci Bisciae V. J. D. Ux. Vixit Ann. LXIX. Obiit Die V. Octob. MDLXXVII. Bernardus Biscia V. J. D. Filius Matri Opt. Et Francisco Filiolo Qui Vixit Dies XIII. Sibique Et Suis Posuit.*

² De Thou, *Hist.*, i. c. 6. *Quod tam arctam cum Alex. VI. adfinitatem contraxisset, et impuri patris omnique scelerum genere coperti filii crudelitates, libidines, perfidiam, fortunas denique fovisset et ampliasset. Quid enim Italiae, quid orbi Christiano non metuumdum fuit, si res prospere in Italia Gallis evenisset, et cum felicitate nostra Borgiarum fortuna adolevisset?*

³ Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, June 17, 1503.

Tuscany and Rome to Naples. His envoys demanded free passage through Roman territory and the union of Caesar's troops with those of France. The Borgia in return required a free hand in Tuscany and the surrender of Bracciano. No agreement was arrived at; prudence if not honour forbade the King to betray Florence and Siena. The Borgia themselves could neither drop the mask of friendship nor risk an enterprise against Tuscany at a time when the French army, strengthened by the league of the cities, was in motion there. They consequently explained that they had conceded a free passage to the French, but would faithfully preserve the neutrality of the State of the Church. Under the cover of neutrality they could then attack Tuscany, as soon as the French army was involved in a fresh and presumably unfortunate expedition. They meanwhile inclined towards Spain. The Pope even allowed Gonsalvo to raise mercenaries in Rome; he gave imperial envoys to understand that if the Emperor joined Spain, he would do so also.

Troche, Alexander's secretary and favourite, may possibly have betrayed the Spanish negotiations to France. He escaped from the Vatican on May 18, but was captured near Corsica by a vessel which had been sent after him, was brought to Rome, and on June 8 was strangled in a tower of Trastevere by Michelotto, while Caesar secretly looked on. The unfortunate man had risen in recent years to the favour of the Pope, and, as his letters to the Marchesa of Mantua prove, was a cultured man of

Troche
strangled
on June 8,
1503

humanistic tastes.¹ It was said that he incurred his disastrous fate by complaining that he had not been placed on the list of new cardinals. When the Pope explained that the list had been made by Caesar and that the duke would kill him for his speech, the secretary hurriedly resolved on flight.² Jacopo Santa Croce was also executed at this time; his body remained on the Bridge of S. Angelo until evening, while his property was confiscated. The terror was so great that many Romans emigrated.

Money was raised for Caesar by the usual means. His ever ready headsman, Michelotto Coreglia, a Spaniard by birth, and the governor of the city, with armed men forced an entrance into houses, and seized the inhabitants under the pretext that they were Marani. With the same object edicts were promulgated against the Jews.³ On May 31

¹ I found two of his letters to the Marchesa in the Archives of Mantua of September 1 and October 5, 1502. He signs himself *Fran. Troche protonot. ap. manu propria*. This is consequently his name, and not *Trocchio* or *Troces*. He writes genuine Tuscan.

² *Et dicendo Sua Beatit. chel Sre Duca havea facto la scripta, intendo chel se dolse poi anche più cum Sua Santità del Sre Duca. Et che la Sant. sua li dixi che lhera uno pacio a dir cussi, et che sel Sre Duca intendesse quello che diceva, lo faria morire. Et per le parole de Sua Beat. par che impaurito la mattina el se ne fugisse.* Beltrando to Ercole, June 11, 1503. He reports the flight and the end of this man on May 27 and June 11. Caesar talked with him for an hour in the tower: *poi mettendose sua Eccel. in loco dove lo poteva vedere et non esser vista, Trocha fu strangolato per mane de Don Michele.* The Pope caused a report to be spread that Troche had thrown himself into the sea at Ostia.

³ *Che sono tutte invenzioni da far danari:* Victorius Soderini, Florentine orator, Rome, June 17, 1503. Arch. Flor., *Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Classe X.*, Dist. 4. n. 73.

Alexander created eleven new cardinals for vast sums of money; among these men were two of his relations, Castellar and Iloris of Valencia, also Francesco Soderini of Volterra and Adriano Castelli.¹ The last, a classically educated Latinist, was a native of Corneto, and had been nuncio of Innocent VIII. in England, where, owing to the favour of Henry VII., he had received the Bishopric of Hereford and other great benefices. On the fall of Floridus he became private secretary to the Pope, his favourite and confidant. He was one of the wealthiest prelates in Rome, where Bramante built him a beautiful palace in the Borgo.²

Fresh
creation of
Cardinals.

Caesar, the maker of these new cardinals, was present at their creation in consistory, and on this occasion showed himself in public for the first time since his return.³ New plans were now woven. The Pope determined that all the lands of the Orsini, Savelli and Colonna should be restored to the Church, and required the Sacred College to consent to Caesar's uniting the March with the Romagna.⁴ The Duke went thither at the end of June, and the Pope decided to visit him in August.⁵ Caesar's government took root in every province;

¹ Adriano Castelli or Castelleschi, called Cardinal of Corneto. Further, three other Spaniards, Spreta, Casanova, Remolines; Melchior Copis of Brixen, Nicolò Fieschi of Genoa.

² Now the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia.

³ Beltrando to Ercole, May 31, 1503.

⁴ Beltrando to Ercole, June 7, 1503.

⁵ Caesar issued a decree relating to criminal cases: *dat. Cesene in consilio nostro Ducali 3 Julii A. 1503*, drawn up by P. Justulus, Gubbio Archives.

the administration was good, and the justice inflexible. After having made use of Ramiro as his vicar-general, the Duke also sacrificed this hated tool to public opinion. He caused him to be quartered, and exposed his remains one morning on the piazza of Cesena, the executioner's axe beside them, to the horror and surprise of the people.¹

The King of France now made the Pope the curious offer of ceding to him the whole of Naples in return for Bologna and the Romagna.² On the other hand the Pope made insidious overtures to the Emperor to acquire the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca for his son.³ Meanwhile La Tremouille, with the army destined for Naples, traversed Tuscany in the beginning of August, and was approaching Roman territory when an event occurred that severed at one blow all the threads of the web of the Borgia.

Illness of
Alexander
VI. and
Caesar.

The Pope as well as his son, who had just returned from the Romagna, fell ill on Saturday, August 12. Both had severe attacks of fever accompanied by vomiting.⁴ On the 13th the Pope was bled. He

¹ This as early as December 25, 1502.

² *Proferta che al Papa pareva bella*: Beltrando to Ercole, Rome, August 1, 1503.

³ Beltrando to Ercole, August 10, 1503.

⁴ The course of the illness, even to the hours, is given by the *Diar. Archiv. Vat.*, of which Raynald makes use. It is the continuation of Burkard's diary. As such I found it in the *Cod. Chigi*, L. i. 14: *Alex. VI. P. Obitus et Pii III. Creatio Tom. III. Diarior. Burcharidi*; it occurs as MS. Barberini, n. 2956: *Alex. VI. P. Obitus et Pii III. creatio MDIII*. The correctness of Burkard is confirmed by Beltrando's letters in the Archives of Modena. Burkard: *Sabbato*

felt better, and allowed some cardinals to play cards by his bedside. On the 14th the fever returned, it did not appear on the 15th, but was higher on the 16th. The palace was barred, no physician or apothecary dared leave it during these days.¹ Recourse was had to a woman who lived immured in the corridor of the Vatican, that she might pray for the Pope. The saint answered that there was no longer any hope for him.² On Friday, August 18, Alexander confessed to the Bishop of Culm (what confessions may not the Bishop have heard!) and received the communion seated. Five cardinals were with him—Arborea, Cosenza, Monreale, Casanova and Iloris. His death was expected. At the same time Caesar was also prostrate; but he was already out of danger, and was engaged in preparations for escape by the covered passage to S. Angelo, whither he had already removed his two little children and many of his possessions. His troops, summoned in haste, already filled the Borgo; drummers marched through the streets, calling on all men belonging to the militia to repair to the Vatican,

die XII. Aug. in mane Papa sensit se male habere; post horam vesperor. XXI. vel XXII. venit febris, quae mansit continua. Beltrando, August 14: heri sera per bona via intesi che Sua Sant. vomitò el Sabato una collera citrina et non senza alteratione di febbre, —Lo Ill. Sig. Duca—sta molto grave con due tertiane et vomito et passione de stomacho.

¹ Beltrando, on August 16. Burkard calls the fever *Tertiana*: and Beltrando likewise says: *da diversi homini de palatio, sebbene non sonno di quelli che penetrano, hebbi chel male—se nomina una Tertiana nota.*

² Beltrando, on August 18.

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Death of
Alexander
VI., Aug.
18, 1503.

under pain of the gallows.¹ On the evening of August 18 the Bishop of Culm administered extreme unction to the Pope, and Alexander VI. breathed his last in the presence of the Datary and some equerries.²

The report immediately spread that he had died of poison, and the aspect of the body, which was hideously disfigured, served to confirm the supposition.³ Popular imagination busied itself in discovering sinister portents. It was rumoured that before Alexander's illness he had seen the devil in the form

¹ Despatch of the Venetian ambassador Giustinian, Rome, August 18, 1503. *ora* 23. Venetian Archives. From this, I have taken what is given in the text concerning Caesar; the physician Scipio told the ambassador, *che ora viene da lui, i.e. from Caesar—Del Duca mi ha affermato, che sta senza pericolo alcuno, ed è senza febre, e che a piacer suo si può levare dal letto.*

² Burkard. Beltrando's letter containing the announcement of the death is missing from the Este Archives; he writes of the confession on August 18. Giustinian's despatch, August 18. *Hora prima noctis* (8 p.m.): *In quest' ora è venuto da me Alvarotto de Alvarottis cittadino podavono della S. V. et similiter domestico del Rev. Sta Briseida (Prassede) e mi ha riferito che, essendo egli col suo cardinale, vine li D. Remolines cameriere del Duca, e fece intendere a S. Sign. che N. S. in quell' ora expiraverat; qui in pace requiescat.* These *Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian* (of which I first made use in the State Archives at Venice) have since been edited in three vols. by Pasquale Villari in 1876. (Florence, Le Monnier.)

³ *El corpo — cossa brutissima da vedere, negro et gonfiato et per molti si dubita non li sia intravenuto veneno:* Beltrando to Ercole, August 19.—*Lo più brutto morto non fu visto mai, nero più che lo Diavolo:* MS. Branca.—*Mai a tempo de cristiano fu veduto la più orrenda e terribil. cosa.* Venet., letter of August 19 in Sanuto.—*Essere il più brutto, mostruoso ed orrendo corpo di morto che mai si vedesse:* Giustiniani, Rome, August 20. *Factus erat sicut pannus, vel morus nigerrimus—os apertum et adeo horribile quod nemo viderit unquam vel esse tale dixerit:* Burkard. The corpse of Sixtus IV. had been equally horrible.

of an ape, and that this devil had carried him off.¹ Soon everyone believed in poison. It is true that August, the most dangerous month in Rome, was this year particularly hot and unhealthy. The envoy of Ferrara informed his master of the fact that many people had sickened and died, and that the members of the Curia in the Vatican more especially were almost all ill.² The Florentine envoy, Soderini, also sickened, and consequently, as he himself records, sent no further accounts to his signory. It is possible, therefore, that the intense heat of summer may have been the cause of the Pope's fatal attack. On August 18, shortly before his death, Scipio, his doctor, on coming from the palace told the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani that the illness was of an apoplectic character, without mentioning the suspicion of poison.³ But the hatred of the world strove and still strives against the belief that the most abhorred of popes died a natural death. All contemporaries, among them the celebrated historians Guicciardini, Bembo, Jovius, Cardinal Egidius,

Views of his contemporaries, which held that Alexander VI. had been poisoned.

¹ The devil in the form of an ape (*babuino*) sprang out of the room. *Et uno card. corse per piarlo e preso volendolo presentar al papa, il papa disse lasolo, lasolo, ch  il diavolo. Et poi la notte si amald  e morite*: Diar. Sanuto, v. 124.

² *Non e pero maraviglia che sua Sant. et Excellentia siano infermi che tutti quasi li homini de computo de questa Corte sonno infermati, et de quelli del palatio specialmente per la mala conditione de aere se li ritrova.* Beltrando to Ercole, August 14. August is fatal to the popes. Of Alexander's predecessors, Calixtus III., Pius II., Sixtus IV. had died in August; Innocent VIII. at the end of July.

³ *E da giudicare che il principio del suo male sia stato apoplessia; e di questo parere   questo medico, uomo eccellente nell' arte sua.* Giustiniani, August 18, 1503, ora 23.

Rafael Volaterranus, maintained that both he and Caesar had been poisoned.¹ According to the best known of these accounts, the Pope and Caesar conspired to poison the wealthy Cardinal Adrian at a banquet in a Vigna of the Vatican; owing to an exchange in the flasks the Pope drank of the poisoned wine, and Caesar made the same mistake. The Pope died in consequence, but, thanks to his youthful vigour, the Duke escaped.² The account of the circumstances contains many improbabilities; for is it likely that men so experienced would have been guilty of such gross negligence? If the poisoning really took place, then the account of a Venetian—which asserts that the Pope's cup-bearer accepted a bribe of 10,000 ducats from Cardinal Adrian and exchanged the goblets—appears more credible.³ That the banquet took place in the garden of the Cardinal is undoubted. Immediately after Alexander's death, accounts of it reached the Florentines, and the story is the more worthy of

¹ Guicciardini, vi. 23. Bembo, *Hist. Venet.*, vi. 244. Jovius, *Vita Leon.*, x. p. 33. Peter Martyr, lib. xvi. Ep. 264, 265. Rafael Volat., xxii. 683. Ferronus, Materazzo, Sanuto, Petr. Justinian, *Rer. Venet. Hist.*, x. 212, and others.

² By means of baths of the entrails of mules just killed, as Peter Martyr writes, Ep. 265.

³ *Questo e il successo di la morte de papa Alex. VI.*: report in Sanuto, v. fol. 70. In spite of Giustiniani's despatches, people in Venice believed that he had been poisoned. That this had been done by means of sweetmeats at the supper is also related by Girol. Priuli from Roman letters: *Diario di cose venete*, i. 145, *Bibl. Marciana*. This merchant derived his information from contemporary accounts. On August 21, he says the longed-for news of the death arrived, *a ore una di notte passò di questa vita all' Inferno*.

belief, from the fact that it represents this meal as the cause of the Pope's illness, though it gives no direct suggestion of poison.¹

The circumstance that Caesar was simultaneously attacked with the like symptoms forms the strongest argument for the belief in poison. The Duke, indeed, did not mention poison, when, on his recovery, he admitted to Machiavelli that the fatal coincidence of his own illness with that of the Pope was the sole misfortune that he had not foreseen. But Cardinal Adrian, who was also taken ill, informed the historian Jovius that he also had been poisoned and suffered from the effects.²

We cannot look into the soul of the dying Borgia to know whether a remnant of conscience still lingered and was accessible to those spirits which

¹ Arch. Flor., *Carte Stroz.* filza, 250. Letter of a certain Giovanni to Luigi Manelli a Montepaldi, Flor., August 22. He therein says of the Pope: *e lla chagione del male si era, che la Sant. sua andò a cena a una vigna di quello Messer Adriano.—E andovì il Ducha Valentino, il Chardinale Romolino, cioè quello che si trovò qui commissario del Papa, quando fu arso frate Girolamo el quale anchora lui è morto* (which was a false report), *et due altri Chardinali tutti amalati, et gravemente, massime il Valentino, che jer sera ci fu da Roma lettera fatta de di dinanzi, che laborabat in extremis, et aspettasi a ognora la morte.* The news of the poisoning at the banquet reached Venice immediately, as Priuli shows. On August 22 it was known in Orvieto, as is noted in the unpublished chronicle of Tommaso di Silvestro. L. Fumi, *Aless. VI. e il Valentino*, in Orvieto, p. 95.

² He had lost consciousness, his skin fell like scales from his body. Jovius, *Vita Consalvi Ven.*, 1557, p. 178.—It is impossible to prove that contemporaries were mistaken in believing, as they generally did, that Alexander died, like a scorpion, of his own poison. We have no longer any proofs *pro vel contra*.

surround the deathbed of men conscious of guilt. It is very remarkable that, though during his illness he was not visited by his son, who was also ill, he never mentioned either Caesar's or Lucrezia's name.¹ If we look solely to externals, the Pope died at the zenith of his fortunes. He had succeeded in everything; every scheme, every crime had prospered. The thought of Caesar's future may indeed have disturbed him; for he knew too well the history of the papal "nepoti." But he might say to himself that he left his son behind with wealth, troops, lands, and many servants in the Cardinals' College, and that he was man enough to make his further career. Or did he believe in the immediate death of his son, whose illness it had been impossible to conceal? Or did he silently gaze into the abyss which was to swallow his corrupt house?

Judgment on Alexander is pronounced by facts themselves.² True that human characters are in

¹ *Dux nunquam venit ad Papam in tota ejus infirmitate, nec in morte, nec Papa fuit unquam memor sui vel Lucretiae in aliquo minimo verbo, etiam in tota sua infirmitate: Alexandri VI. obitus* (MS. Chigi and Barberini agreeing *verbatimim*).

² Raynald, so far as he expressed himself, judged the Pope honestly. One Bzovius extolled him with effrontery. Of his contemporaries, Priuli had already drawn a terrible picture of him, as of a monster. Machiavelli, who looks on historic characters as coldly as a naturalist looks on his object, says with irony:

*Malò Valenza, e per aver riposo,
Portato fù fra l'anime beate
Lo spìrto di Alessandro glorioso;
Del qual seguìro le sante pedate
Tre sue familiari e care ancelle,
Lussuria, simonia e crudeltate.*

(*Decennali*, i. 445.)

great part the product of circumstances and times. But if in many cases some palliation is found in the unbounded corruption of public and moral conditions amid which the Italians then lived, and if allowance may be made for the impress of the age, a Pope with the Gospel in his hand is the last of his contemporaries who has any right to claim the indulgence. Because Alexander VI. was Pope, he appears yet more deserving of hatred than his son. The terrible audacity in crime with which Caesar challenged the world has even a semblance of grandeur, while his father by his position was forced to perform, or allow to be performed, concerted deeds. As a rule we only see his motives as it were behind a curtain.

The real figure of Alexander VI. is seen in unfair proportions, that is to say, on too large a scale ; the truth shows how small he really was. It is entirely wrong to imagine him a man diabolical on principle, if indeed such men exist. The genesis of the crimes of this vigorous and frivolous man is shown step by step in his history. They sprang rather from his sensuality than from his mind, which was only of mediocre rank. Even his excesses would not have created such scandal had he veiled them like other men of his stamp in secrecy. His effrontery alone was unexampled. If religion is anything more than a service of ecclesiastical forms and a belief in miracle-working saints, we must acknowledge that Alexander VI. was a pope without religion. The good qualities which he possessed;—for in nature there is neither absolute Bad, nor absolute Good,—or with

which the genius of contradiction has endowed him, are worthless in face of his general character, and when weighed by the divine judge of the dead, would probably be thrown aside with contempt, or at least found insignificant in the balance.

The historian also disputes the opinion of those who discover political genius in this pope.¹ His mind, masterly in cunning and treachery, did not reach sufficiently high. His entire pontificate shows not a single great idea either in Church or State, either as priest or prince. No trace of creative activity is found in Alexander. In the history of the Papacy he stands alone, as having completely sacrificed the advantage of the Church. His relation towards the secular ecclesiastical State is remarkable. This possession, which had been so jealously guarded by all his predecessors, was to Alexander of so little account, that he almost reduced it to a secular possession through his nepotism; he desired to annex to his family this entire State, and annexation would have entailed its inevitable ruin. "After me the deluge," seems to have been his maxim. The satanic passions of the Borgia and the corruption of justice, as of all

¹ Raf. Volater., *Antropol.*, xxii. 663, is the source of such an idea, according to which *in Alexandro aequabant vitia virtutes*. Similarly Cardinal Egidius praises his *acerrimum ingenium, solertia, prudentia, diligentia, facundia*, . . . and Guicciardini also. Nauclerus of Tübingen repeats after the Italians the phrase: *vir magni animi magnaeq; prudentiae*. The genuine Italian epithet *magni animi* signifies the bold egoism of ambitious men. Mansi says: *in illo vitia omnia extrema, virtutes moderatae, nisi melius dixeris, nullae*.

political relations of the time, made this monstrous scheme impossible. Alexander was forced to abandon the thought—if he ever actually cherished it—of making Caesar pope and the tiara and princely crown hereditary in the House of Borgia. But he would have unhesitatingly sacrificed to his bastard the State of the Church, and made it serve as a nucleus and basis for the Kingdom of Italy, at which Caesar openly aimed.¹ Alexander VI. himself in the power of his terrible son, scarcely has the appearance of a man who could revel in the feeling of princely power. Its burthen would only have made him uncomfortable. He had no impulse of greatness, nothing of regal ambition, nothing of indefatigable energy. Nor are any of those imperial qualities, such as were possessed by a Sixtus IV. or a Julius II., seen in the passive nature of this libertine. He was entirely governed by circumstances; he never ruled; never showed boldness or energy. He knew but one single passion—love of

¹ To Petrucelli della Gattina (*Hist. Diplom. des Conclaves*, Paris, 1864, i. 363), the Spaniard, Alexander VI. is a criminal Messiah of Italy, the ideal of the Italian statesman, because he is the destroyer on principle of the temporal dominion. His only motive is the desire to save Italy, the independence of which is his dream! The lengths to which political bias and the passion for originality can carry men seem incredible. Who can imagine any pope a destroyer of the State of the Church on principle? Who can believe that even an Alexander VI. would have renounced Rome in favour of his son? The question here is only one of actual circumstances, and the conduct of Alexander VI. is merely an exaggeration of the nepotist policy of Sixtus IV.; hence also the danger of the actual secularisation of the State of the Church. But into this question the possession of Rome does not enter.

his children. They and naught else formed the background of his whole conduct. In his latter days hatred of his son—his evil genius—struggled with his love for him. Dark hours he must have known when he could have killed this son, but he could not set him aside, since his own safety and his throne rested at last on Caesar's greatness and strength.

No one indeed can discover in Alexander's history any other guiding principle than the contemptible one of aggrandising his children at any cost.¹ The extirpation of several tyrants and the foundation of Caesar's ephemeral principality, established on a thousand crimes, to support and protect his own usurpation of the Papal chair, were the political acts of this pope, and to these despicable objects of nepotism and self-preservation he sacrificed his own conscience, the happiness of nations, the existence of Italy and the good of the Church.

A war of more than half a century, and more terrible than all earlier wars of mediaeval times, reduced Italy to ruin, destroyed the prosperity of the cities, quenched the sentiment of nationality and freedom, and, under the degradation of foreign rule,

¹ Without knowing one another, two statesmen describe the character of Alexander VI. in almost the same words. In 1493 King Ferrante says: *Ne cura altro, che ad dericto e reverso fare grande li figlioli et questo e solo el suo desiderio.* The Venetian envoy Capello in 1500, writes: *è di natura allegra; e fa quel li torna utile, e tutto il suo pensier e di far grandi soi figli ne de altro a cura.* An Englishman has written the article, "The Borgias and their latest Historian" (*North British Review*, January 1871), in opposition to my views.

plunged this great nation into a sleep of centuries, which resembled the period of exhaustion that followed on the Gothic wars. If Alexander VI. was not the sole author of this deep abasement, to which a hundred other causes contributed, at all events he surrendered Italy to the Spaniards and French with the sole object of aggrandising his bastards. He was one of the essential causes of the ruin of his country, and he stands in the same position in the history of the Church.

As regards the city of Rome itself, the last spark of civic consciousness expired under the rule of the Borgia, under which the Roman people became completely demoralised. The historians of these days have expressed their surprise that, in spite of so many murders and in spite of all other crimes, Rome never rose against Alexander VI. It is more than absurd to suppose that the city remained tranquil because she was satisfied with the rule of the Pope. The causes of the peaceful attitude of the Romans were the terrorism inspired by the government of the Borgia with their spies, executioners, and Spanish soldiery, the corruption of the people themselves and their already abject spirit. A celebrated historian of the time, himself a bishop, says: "Whether it be from recollection of their former splendour and their ancient freedom, or from their wild and restless spirit, the Romans cannot tranquilly endure the rule of priests, which often appears immoderate and avaricious."¹ Nevertheless, while their city sank into a condition that recalled the

¹ Jovius, *Histor. sui temporis*, i. 5.

times of the most infamous emperors of antiquity, the Romans only made impotent satires on Alexander. We seem to be hearing Tacitus, when a contemporary of the Borgia writes: "The effrontery of the gladiators was never greater in the city, the liberty of the people never less. It swarmed with informers. The slightest expression of hatred was punished with death. Moreover, Rome was entirely filled with robbers, and no street was safe at night. Rome, in every age the asylum of nations and the stronghold of peoples, had become a shambles, and all this was permitted by Alexander VI. for love of his children."¹

Another eye-witness of the rule of Alexander VI., the afterwards renowned Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo, drew the following picture of the city: "Everything was hidden in darkness and stormy night; of the things that were done in the family and the Thyestean tragedies, I will keep silence; never were more terrible revolts in the cities of the ecclesiastical state, more sacks and more bloody deaths. Never were robberies committed with such impunity in the streets; never was Rome so full of criminals; never was the multitude of informers and robbers so audacious. People could neither leave the gates of the city nor dwell within it. To own money or valuable property was equivalent to being guilty of high treason. There was no protection either in house, sleeping-room, or tower. Justice was effaced. Money, power, and lust governed everything.

¹ Raf. Volater., xxii. 683, and following him, Panvinus, *Vita Alex. VI.*

Hitherto, since Italy had emancipated herself from foreign tyranny, she had remained exempt from the rule of the stranger, for, although King Alfonso was an Aragonese, in neither culture, liberality, nor magnanimity was he inferior to any Italian. Now, however, slavery followed freedom, now the Italians sank from independence into darkest servitude to the foreigner.”¹

¹ *Ut domestica taceam: Thyesteasque tragedias — — Non domi: non in cubiculo: non in turri tuti: nihil jus, nihil fas: Aurum, Vis et Venus imperabant. Historia, xx., Saeculor. MS. in the Angelica. The passage extracted is addressed to Leo X. Rafael Volaterranus, the friend of Egidio, was apparently acquainted with it.*

CHAPTER VI.

- I. THE RENASCENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—
ATTITUDE TOWARDS IT OF THE CITY OF ROME—
ACTIVITY OF THE POPES — THE DISCOVERY OF
ANCIENT AUTHORS—NICHOLAS V.—THE VATICAN
LIBRARY—SIXTUS IV. — PRINTING BROUGHT TO
ROME—THE FIRST GERMAN PRINTERS. THERE—
ALDUS MANUTIUS.

BEFORE sinking into utter political decadence, the Italians had gloriously scaled new heights of culture. They again revealed themselves as the Latin nation at a time when their land, freed from the German imperial power, and not yet fallen under the dominion of France and Spain, was the most flourishing country in Europe. Their great national deed was the Renascence of antiquity, the foundations of which were so deeply laid, as well in the memory as in the thirst for culture of the Latin races, that its first indications were already evident at the time of the revival of the Roman Empire by Charles the Great.

Acquaintance with the ancients had never completely vanished. In every period a certain number of Latin authors had been studied, and even in times of profoundest barbarism, ancient culture constantly broke from its hidden sources. It reappeared in the

times of the Ottos and Sylvester II., of John of Salisbury, and Vincent of Beauvais; it re-awoke under the Hohenstaufens, until the great movement of the fourteenth century produced the revolution of the fifteenth. But in spite of Dante, Cola di Rienzo, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the Renaissance in the fifteenth century appears as a sudden resurrection of paganism, as a magical and all-powerful metamorphosis of the human mind.

Scarcely three centuries had passed since enthusiasm had been awakened by the Crusades, towards which, however, the Italians had shown themselves but lukewarm, when Italy and then the West were seized with a widespread, though by no means universal, zeal for the classic ideal of ancient Hellas. After long banishment amid barbarism the Italians seemed to have returned to their native pagan culture. The genius of antiquity, too great to perish in Christianity, only hidden in the Middle Ages by the darkness of night, rose like a phoenix from the ashes of the past. The ancient sages and poets emerged from the dust of the cloister and returned as redeemers of the intellect; the gods of Greece reappeared as apostles of the cult of beauty, and the marble heroes and citizens sprang from their graves, now to be regarded as the sole types of genuine manly virtue.

This great resurrection of the dead is an isolated phenomenon in the history of the world, and offers an impressive testimony to the imperishable grandeur of ancient culture. Will any future period ever

The Renaissance.

witness such triumphs of resurrection? We doubt it; for all modern cultivation is of universal, nay, unlimited character. But classical antiquity, restricted within limits of form, is intelligible as an individuality. It remains the fairest flower of the intellect which the earth has ever put forth; the spring-time of creation eternally fresh, to whose fulness and splendour no succeeding age has ever attained. In the fifteenth century it was by means of Italy that mankind regained knowledge of ancient civilisation; and as in former days, while the classic world faded from view, it recovered its youth under the moral power of Christianity, so now it plunged into the same antiquity as into a spring of rejuvenating power. For Christendom had been false to its lofty conceptions and had become petrified in a ritual devoid of ideas.

The Church, once so exalted as a leader of mankind, had now grown antiquated in her ceremonialism, and required reform. Her dogmatic structure could no longer embrace the expanding life of the world, as it had embraced it in the Middle Ages. The ideal of man, which she represented as essentially sinful and suffering, as an ascetic longing for a heaven beyond, no longer sufficed for a new age. Dante, the poet who closed Mediaevalism, had thus conceived it, but his companion in the world of spirits had been the pagan Virgil. Virgil, who discourteously took leave of the younger poet on the very threshold of Dante's heaven, now returned with Homer, and these two monarchs of ancient poetry conducted the Italians of the fifteenth century to the

midst of classic Olympus. Above the gloomy Christendom of monks and schoolmen, the aurora of the pagan gods shone with radiant splendour.

In Rome itself men beheld the ancient divinities in theatres or in the festivals of the Saturnalia, which were revived in the Carnival celebrations; while dead emperors and consuls held their processions as if, now that the imperial authority of German kings was extinguished, they once more usurped possession of ancient Rome. Literature, art, and even manners became saturated with a neo-Latin paganism. All that was Christian and dogmatic, all that owed its origin to the Middle Ages, appeared barbarous and antiquated to the enthusiasts of the Renaissance. Even the language of Dante was illegitimate in their eyes. Literature discarded its popular development; it wrapped itself in a purple-bordered toga, in the Latin tongue and style. Academies arose in imitation of those of Plato and Cicero. Rhetoricians were again listened to with rapture, as once in the porticos of Athens and Rome. Libraries were collected as in the times of the Ptolemies. Pericles and Maecenas reappeared as wealthy merchants or civic tyrants thirsting for fame. Even the education of the family became classical. A breath of ancient urbanity penetrated social forms, while at the same time the laxity of morals reached a depth of depravity equal to that of the time of Juvenal.

Notwithstanding its masquerading attire, an earnest mission of historic importance lay at bottom of the Renaissance. Latinism, which had

formerly conquered the world through the Church, conquered it a second time as a principle of culture. Italy thus bade farewell to her attitude of universal supremacy, and a country, that had civilised Europe through the Empire and the Church, could undertake no nobler task than that of restoring to nations the treasures of the wisdom and the beauty of antiquity. Precisely at the time when Europe raised a protest against the antiquated Gregorian Church, the national work of the Italians began, namely their task of breaking through the barren system of scholasticism with the spirit of antiquity, and replacing the formalism of the monastic school by the imperishable stores of ancient learning.

The Renaissance was the Reformation of the Italians. They emancipated knowledge from the fetters of dogmatism, and indeed first made it a European power. They restored man to humanity and to civilisation as a whole; and thus created a universal culture, in whose progress we are still engaged, and whose future development and aim we cannot even yet surmise. The revival of knowledge was the first great act of that immeasurable moral revolution which Europe experienced, and whose prominent epochs hitherto consist in the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation, the French Revolution. It is with justice that this first period is called that of Humanism, for with it modern humanity begins.¹

Nothing is more remarkable here than the rela-

¹ Blondus once brackets together the two epithets, *litteratissimus* and *humanus*: *Ital. Illustr.*, 160.

tion of the Church to this resurrection of literary and artistic paganism. Monks, priests, cardinals greeted it with enthusiasm. Popes opened to it the doors of the Vatican. The churchmen, whose predecessors had destroyed the statues of the gods of Greece and the writings of the ancients, now collected the relics of antique statues and authors with as much reverence as those predecessors had collected the bones of saints. It was permissible to do so, since paganism was no longer a religious question. The Church recognised it as the classical ornament of the world and as the neutral ground of culture in the domain of knowledge and form. Was not the reconciliation of these ancient enemies, perhaps the most memorable fact in the history of culture, at the same time an acknowledgment by the Church herself of the insufficiency of Christianity as a means of culture outside the religious sphere? Owing to her capacity for embracing antiquity, the Papacy attained a new height of historic grandeur.

Attitude of
the Church
towards
the Renas-
cence.

In the first enthusiasm of the Renaissance, the Church ignored the question, whether the unconditional acceptance of this pagan culture might not prove a source of danger to herself. The risk was unavoidable, for the gods and sages of Greece in any form whatever remained the opponents of the Church. Humanistic learning, as the revolution of opinion and thought, bore within it the elements of reform; it despised dogmas, it destroyed the belief in authority, by its criticism it shattered the pious traditions as well as the clerical impostures of the Middle Ages. The Renaissance turned away

from the Christian ideal and erected a humanitarian cult. It was in itself the first open emancipation of thoughtful minds from the Church, and the first public breach between knowledge and faith, a breach in the unity of the intellectual principle and the Christian view of the world. From this time, freed from its bondage to the Church, the human intellect is swayed by the centrifugal tendency towards independence; breaking away into the secular sphere, it divides its energies for the laborious task of building up the system of the world's culture; yet is it never free from a longing for some unifying ideal, wherein its religious aspirations may be reconciled, or from dissatisfaction with a life without system and without centre.

In the midst of the current of the Renaissance, was it possible for the Church to foresee its inevitable consequences or to stem the flow of the intellect within dogmatic confines? The Church herself suffered the loss of her moral supremacy. There were indeed popes who made war on Humanism, but there were others who were either entirely imbued by it, or who were better acquainted with their nation, still half inspired by the genius of antiquity. For, in Latin society, the Renaissance with the revival of ancient literature only produced the reform of culture; it entered into the life of the Italians artistically as the embodiment of the Beautiful, while the German Renaissance turned to the mysteries of religion and accepted as its task the Reformation of the Church. And precisely because the Italian national spirit embraced paganism as its

sole end, its desire for reform remained satisfied with literature and art. The Papacy was consequently again able to throw aside the heretical vesture of paganism both from itself and Italy, after the Renaissance had served to distract the attention of the Italian people from the need for reform during the most dangerous times of the Reformation impulse, and, in the acquisition of ancient learning, had equipped the Church herself with the weapons of the time, and endowed her in Rome with a monumental splendour. Nevertheless this victory of the Church was merely an ephemeral triumph. She was unable to quench the revolution of the European intellect by any formula of excommunication; the unity of the religious idea could never be restored; the breach between faith and knowledge was irreparable. Even in Italy itself after the victory of the counter-reformation the Catholic cult remained devoid of faith and spirit, and the dull indifference of the people to religion,—a product as well of the secularisation of the Church as of the Renaissance,—still forms the greatest hindrance to the moral regeneration of the national intellect of Italy.

It is the task of the historian of literature to depict the rapidity with which the Italians revived the knowledge and language of the ancients. We have here only to deal with Rome. And Rome appears in the same conditions as other cities, where men of talent collected and where schools were formed. For after the fifteenth century there was no place of any importance in Italy where this did not take place. As in antiquity, and from the same

causes, the tyrants were themselves patrons of learning. At the court of the last Visconti, as at that of Sforza, Decembrio, Filelfo, Barziza, Simoneta, Crivelli shone as orators, historians, poets and philologists. Under the Este, learning flourished at Ferrara, from the time that Nicholas III. summoned Guarino of Verona to his court. Under the protection of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Vittorino da Feltre founded his celebrated educational institution at Mantua. In Urbino Federigo collected his valuable library. Even a tyrant such as Gismondo Malatesta encouraged learning; even petty nobles, such as Alessandro Sforza and his son Costanzo at Pesaro, were patrons of noble culture. For reasons of state Venice did little; but her alliance with the East made the city the first refuge of the wandering Greek teachers; and some nobles, such as Carlo Zeno, the Correr, the Giustiniani and Barbaro also became patrons of humanistic learning. In Naples the zeal of King Robert survived in Alfonso.

Learning
in Florence,

In Florence alone learning stood not in the service of tyrants but in that of the republic, and on this account in that of the entire Italian nation, of which Florence was the intellectual centre. In the first third of the fifteenth century arose the great Florentine literary union, a republic of the Muses of such universal influence as has seldom been exercised by any single place. There shone Bruni, Poggio, Nicoli, Alberti, Marsuppini, Traversari, Manetti, Florentines or Tuscans.¹ At the same time foreign

¹ Concerning the Florentine literature of this period, the wealthiest mine still remains the edition of the letters of Ambrosio Traversi,

scholars were invited such as Guarino, Filelfo, Aurispa, George of Trebizond and Argyropulos. The treasures of Greek and Latin literature were there displayed side by side.

Florence shared its intellectual life with Rome. For Roman culture was essentially Florentine, and under a Medicean pope it reached its zenith. After it had been restored by the Papacy it developed by slow degrees. Popes and cardinals became its patrons, but the Roman nobility remained utterly aloof. Humanistic culture never struck its roots into the soil of Rome, but was, and remained, a foreign product.

Even during the schism the Curia accepted in Rome. Tuscan humanists as secretaries; the first on whom the office was bestowed was Zanobi da Strada, who was appointed under Innocent VI. in 1359. Urban V. then summoned Francesco Bruni from Florence to Avignon as papal secretary. Martin V. found Poggio already installed in the post.¹ Although this Pope was not conspicuous as a patron of Humanism, among his cardinals were several men of culture, who stood in correspondence with the Florentines, such as Albergati, Cesarini, Jordan Orsini and Capranica.

Learning received a greater impulse under Eugenius IV. The Curia long remained in with his life by Lorenzo Mehus, Florence, 1759. Also the collections of letters of the Humanists in question.

¹ During the latter years of the schism, Leonardo Bruni, Antonio Loschi, the Roman Agapito Cenci de' Rustici were also papal secretaries. Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbel. des class. Altert.*, second edition. Berlin, 1881, ii. Book v.

Florence, and the Council of the Union entered into intimate relations with Greek learning. Bessarion became Cardinal under Eugenius IV. Poggio, Biondo and Maffeo Vegio, Aurispa and Perotti were his secretaries. An elegant Latin style henceforward became an important requisite in the Roman chancery. The importance of Rome soon attracted a crowd of scholars. The Curia offered them a secretariat, a prospect of office in the prelatore, profitable association with cardinals and influence at a time when a Latin or Greek scholar was regarded with admiration and a book newly discovered or composed was an event.

Restoration of the Roman University by Eugenius IV.

After the restoration of the university, the Humanists also found a secure footing in Rome. In 1431 Eugenius IV. removed it from Trastevere back to S. Eustachio, restored its faculties and allotted it an annual revenue. Its most important professorship was that of Latin rhetoric, to which Eugenius appointed George of Trebizond. Law was also taught by celebrated professors such as Antonio Roselli, Ludovico Pontano, and the Romans Andrea Santa Croce and Antonio Caffarelli. Foreigners repaired to this university. Pico della Mirandola challenged the learned world to dispute his pompous theses. It was largely indebted to the exertions of Alexander VI., who caused a new building to be erected for its accommodation.¹

Already under Nicholas V. humanistic learning

¹ Bull of Eugenius IV., Rome, October 10, 1431, in Renazzi, *Stor. dell' Univ. di Roma*, i., App. n. ii., and briefs of Alexander VI., App. p. 281.

displayed the greatest activity in Rome. This Pope had come from the Florentine republic of letters, and Cosimo Medici—formerly his Maecenas—became the model of the greater protectorate which he himself exercised in Rome. Of Rome, a city unproductive in all that concerned intellectual life, he wished to create a new Athens or Alexandria, but he did not succeed in his aim. His feverish impatience however produced some praiseworthy results. No creative genius, he was merely an enthusiastic collector of learned material, and such a collector was what was most wanted at the time. His noble exertions were directed to the object of founding a great library and of disseminating Greek literature in translations. The youthful enthusiasm shown in the impulse of discovery at this period is entirely surprising. The man of the fifteenth century searched, discovered and invented at the same time. He extracted the genuine gold of learning from the dross; he sought for the statues, inscriptions and parchments of antiquity, but also for unknown islands and coasts in the ocean. How far had he left behind the times when popes and princes sent their agents through the world to collect sacred fossils for their mummy cabinets—fossils for which they paid their weight in gold. From the mouldering libraries of convents, Latin authors were now joyfully brought to light; from Byzantine monasteries Greek classics, threatened by the Turks, escaped to the West, as Byzantine likenesses of saints had taken refuge during the days of the Iconoclast dispute.

Human-
istic
activity of
Nicholas V.

Poggio,
discoverer
of ancient
MSS.

The thirst for discovery had already awakened with Petrarch; he himself had found some of Cicero's letters at Verona in 1345,¹ but it was the Council of Constance—the boundary stone between two periods—that gave the greatest impetus to this activity. Here it was that Poggio, the most fortunate of treasure-seekers, acquired undying fame. As papal scriptor, he employed his sojourn at Constance in travels of discovery, when he was accompanied by his friends Cencio Rustici and Bartolommeo of Monte Pulciano. It redounds to the honour of Germany, that it was in part her convents that preserved for the seeker the manuscripts of classic authors, the fruit of the industrious labours of monks of an earlier age. Poggio discovered almost the entire works of Quintilian at S. Gall.² By degrees he brought to light Silius Italicus, Lucretius, Statius, Manilius, Valerius Flaccus, Columella, several discourses of Cicero, Frontinus, Ammianus, Vitruvius and a series of grammarians. The Florentine Nicoli and the

¹ Petrarch only found the letters to M. Brutus, Quintus Cicero, Octavian and Atticus, which were collected together in a MS. He was unacquainted with the *familiares*. In 1390 Coluccio Salutati received a first copy of these, probably taken from a codex at Vercelli, from Pasquino de Capellis, chancellor of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti. Ant. Viertel., *Die Wiederauff. von Cicero's Briefen durch Petrarca. Progr. d. Kön. Wihl-Gymn. zu Königsb.*, 1879.

² Poggio, Ep. i. 5 and the description of the decay of the library and abbey of S. Gall, where learning had formerly flourished, in Ep. Cincii to Francesco de Fiana, in Quirini, *Diatriba—ad Fr. Barbari*, Ep. p. viii. And Barbaro's congratulations to Poggio, *ibid.*, ii. Ep. i.

Venetian Francesco Barbaro encouraged him with self-sacrificing enthusiasm.¹

The Latin world was stirred with joyous excitement; copies of these newly-discovered treasures were disseminated throughout Italy. Patrons of learning in Florence, Milan and Venice sent their agents abroad to buy manuscripts. In Rome, cardinals such as Jordan Orsini, Prospero Colonna and Capranica collected them. Bartolommeo hunted in German monasteries and discovered Vegetius.² Discoveries in German convents. In vain was search made for a complete copy of Livy or Tacitus. It was an event when a German monk, Nicholas of Trèves, brought a codex to Rome in 1429, which, besides four already known, contained twelve hitherto unknown comedies of Plautus. It was bought by Cardinal John Orsini, and esteemed by him as, next to a manuscript of Ptolemy, the greatest treasure of his library.³

Equal zeal was employed in the East in the search for Greek manuscripts. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, three young Italians journeyed to Greece to learn the language: Guarino, Aurispa and Filelfo. They brought from Constantinople more than one hundred codices of historians, fathers of the Church, poets and philosophers. Thus

¹ See Poggio's funeral oration on Nicoli, in which he praises him for his share in the revival of ancient literature. Poggi, *Op.* p. 275.

² To a German monastery, Corvey, we owe the preservation of the first five books of the *Annals* of Tacitus. Erhard, *Gesch. des Wiederaufblühens wissenschaftl. Bildung vornnehmlich in Deutschland*. Magdeburg, 1827, i. 76.

³ Mehus, *Ambros. Traversari Praef.*, 40 sq.

Demosthenes, Lucian, Dio Cassius, Xenophon, Strabo, Diodorus, Plato and the Platonists came to Italy.¹

Copies of
the codices.

The authors thus discovered were eagerly transcribed by scholars. The arts of deciphering and copying were held in high esteem. To the Monk of the Middle Ages time was of little account, for he wrote for his convent; but shortly before the discovery of printing, the literary world awaited with impatience the work of the copyist. Poggio copied Quintilian in thirty-two days, and Blondus was proud of having in his youth "with wonderful ardour" transcribed Cicero's Brutus from a codex at Lodi, the discovery of which had made an indescribable sensation.² Nicoli, a private individual of small means, but a favourite of the Medici, copied countless books. So did Nicholas V. before he became pope. Wherever collections of books were made, crowds of copyists were employed, as in Florence, Urbino, Pesaro and Rome. From thirty to forty worked for the Margrave of Urbino in various cities of Italy.

Nicholas
V.'s manu-
factory of
copyists.

Nicholas V. made the Vatican a workshop of copyists. Even on his journeys he was followed by an army of skilled writers or Librarii, among whom were many Germans and Frenchmen. In the eighth year of his pontificate he strewed Rome with books and parchments; he was compared to Ptolemy Philadelphus. As pope he was terrified by the fall

¹ Giovanni Aurispa alone brought 238 profane Greek authors to Venice. See his remarkable letter to Traversari (*Ambr. Trav.*, Ep. xxiv. 53).

² *Brutum—primi omnium mirabile ardore ac celeritate transcripsimus — omnis Italia exemplis pariter est repleta.* Flav. Blond., *Ital. illustr.*, 346.

of Byzantium, but as a collector of books, he profited by the catastrophe, for he immediately sent his agents to Greece to buy MSS. Several codices were thus produced at great expense, "so that Greece did not perish, but owing to the liberality of a pope was removed to Italy, which once in antiquity was called Magna Graecia."¹ Albert Enoch from Ascoli travelled in the service of Nicholas to France, to Germany and even to Prussia.² He brought the *de viris illustribus* of Suetonius and the *Germania* of Tacitus back to Italy. The assistants of the Pope in the work of collecting books were the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano, and Niccolo Perotti, secretary to the no less zealous collector Bessarion. But the supply of authors of importance was already exhausted, and but little that was new was brought to light, although among others Apicius and the Scholia of Porphyryon to Horace may be mentioned.

Activity in copying was accompanied by equal fervour in translating. This was the noblest passion of the Pope, and to it the West owed its acquaintance with a great number of Greek authors. Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Philo, Theophrastus and Ptolemy were now made accessible to scholars. Writings of Aristotle and Plato were translated from the original into

Translation of Greek authors.

¹ Filelfo to Calixtus III., E. i. l. xiii. 91 (Venice, 1502).

² See the papal letter of introduction to the Grand-master Ludwig von Erlichshausen, Rome, April 30, 1451; from the Secret Archives in Königsberg, in Voigt, *Die Wiederbeleb. des class. Altert.*, ii, 202.

Latin, after having been here and there brought to light mainly by means of Arabic translations in the times of the Hohenstaufens. With indescribable zest men now extracted the treasures of Hellenic wisdom from their original source.

Greeks as well as Italians versed in Greek worked for Nicholas V. Valla translated Thucydides and Herodotus, Poggio the *Cyropaedia* and Diodorus; Perotti undertook Polybius, for which the Pope presented him with 500 new ducats. Guarino received 1000 scudi for Strabo. The translation of Aristotle, already begun by Lionardo Bruni, engaged the services of Theodore Gaza and George of Trebizond, who had also translated the Laws of Plato and Ptolemy. Decembrio undertook Appian.¹ Homer, of which Leonzio Pilato had previously made the first translation in prose for Boccaccio, received a worthy Latin vesture. Nicholas V. offered a high price for a metrical translation; but no one produced an edition worthy of immortality, if we except a Roman poet named Orazio, who translated part of the *Iliad*. Filelfo, to whom the Pope promised 10,000 gold pieces and other valuable rewards for such a work, was prevented from leaving Milan for Rome by the death of the great Maecenas.²

¹ Vespasiano, *Vita Nicolai V.*, Mur., xxv. 252.

² Concerning Orazio's translation, see: *Aen. Sylvius de Europ.*, c. 54. After the Pope's death the young Roman Nicol. della Valle translated Homer and Hesiod into Latin verse: Tirab., vi. ii. 155. The Cod. Vat., 2756, contains the translation of the first books of the *Iliad*, without the name of the translator: Giorgi, *Disquisitio de Nicol. P. V. erga litteras et viros patrocinio*, at the close of the *Vita Nicol.*, v. p. 193.

The passion for collecting manuscripts led to the foundation of new libraries. Nicholas himself before becoming pope had arranged the first public library in Florence, namely the collection consisting of 800 volumes which Nicoli bequeathed to his native city, and which was taken over by Cosimo, and placed in S. Marco in 1444. Rome fared badly in collections of books. In 1432 Traversari found nothing worthy of note either in the library of Cardinal Orsini nor in S. Cecilia; neither in the papal library nor that of S. Peter's. He found the Greek monastery of Grotta Ferrata sadly fallen to decay, the manuscripts half mouldering to dust.¹ Cincius did not venture to complain of the neglect of the library in S. Gall, seeing the collections of books in Rome had been destroyed, in order to procure parchments for painting likenesses of S. Veronica.² The ancient Lateran library had either perished, or formed a scanty portion of the literary treasures which had been carried to Avignon.³ Nicholas V. deserves high praise for the great service that he rendered in founding afresh the papal library. He added a number of MSS. to those which he inherited from Eugenius IV., and placed this valuable collection in a hall of the Vatican. Nothing gave him greater

Decay of
the
libraries
Rome.

Nicholas V.
founds the
Vatican
library.

¹ *Ambros. Camald.*, Ep. viii. 42-43 (ed. Mehus).

² *Bibliothecae partim—ut divina Veronice facies pingeretur, deletae sunt. Diatriba—ad Fr. Barberi*, Ep. p. 7.

³ But little returned from Avignon. As late as 1566 the Roman Commissary Lazzarini brought away some remnants. 500 volumes only arrived back under Pius VI. Amati, *Notizie di alcuni manoscritti dell' Arch. Secr. Vat.* in the *Archiv. Stor. Ser. III.*, iii. i. 168. Dudik, *Iter. Roman.*, Vienna, 1855, part ii.

pleasure than to survey these books bound in red velvet. He appointed as librarian Giovanni Tortelli of Arezzo, compiler of the pamphlet *De Ortographia*.¹

Sixtus IV.
founds it
afresh.

The Vatican library did not receive the same care under his successor, Calixtus III. holding it in such low esteem that he presented Greek codices to Cardinal Isidore, and stripped several books of their gold and silver mountings. So at least the adherents of Nicholas V. asserted. Bessarion and Filelfo raised loud lamentations.² The learned Sixtus IV., to his honour revived the ideas of Nicholas V. In 1475 he removed the library to a new site—four rooms on the ground floor. Here it remained until Sixtus V. constructed the new rooms, the most sumptuous and worthy the accommodation of a library of any in the world. Sixtus IV. increased the collection by new acquisitions, wherein he was aided by his learned secretaries Platina, Jacopo of Volterra, Lionardo Dati, Domizio Calderini, Sigismondo Conti and Mattia Palmieri. He also assigned an income to the library, made it over to the use of the public, and thus became the second founder of the Vatican library. As Bibliothecarius he first appointed Gianandrea de Bussis, the indefatigable promoter of printing in Rome; in 1475 Platina. In the picture gallery of the Vatican we still see a fresco by Melozzo, originally painted on a wall of the Sistine Library, which represents Sixtus IV.

Platina
Biblio-
thecarius.

¹ According to Manetti and Vespasiano, on the Pope's death the catalogue contained 5000 volumes. This number is, however, doubtful.

² Vespas., *Vite ed. Mai*, p. 284. Filel., Ep. i. lib. xiii.

between two Cardinals, while the librarian Platina kneels before him pointing to lines in praise of the Pope.¹ Sixtus, moreover, appointed two custodians and three scribes for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.² He also kept the private archives in the library, and was likewise the founder of these archives under a new form. They were at this time contained in three cupboards and four chests of cyprus wood, and consisted of Regesta of the Popes and original documents. Paul II. caused them to be brought to S. Angelo, where, constantly increased and replenished, they remained until the end of the last century.³ On the death of Platina, Bartolommeo Manfredi became librarian, and was succeeded in 1484 by Cristoforo Persona, Prior of S. Balbina, who

Secret
Archives
of the
Vatican.

¹ *Templa, domum expositis, vicos, et moenia, pontes
Virgineam Trivii quod repararis aquam,
Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus
Et Vaticanum cingere Sixte jugum :
Plus tamen Urbs debet. Nam quae squallore latebat,
Cernitur in celebri Bibliotheca loco.*

The epigram is by Platina himself. Murat., iii. ii. 1067.—Platina took the oath as Bibliothecarius on 18th June 1475. Zanelli, *la bibl. Vatic. dalla sua origine fino al presente*, Rome, 1857, p. 15.

² Assemani, *Bibl. Ap. Vat. Codicum—Catalogus*, p. xxi.

³ That they scarcely contain any original documents earlier than saec. xi. is well known.—Gaetano Marini, *Memor. istor. degli archivii di S. Sede*, ed. A. Mai, Rome, 1825 ; Blume's *Iter Italicum*, vol. iii. ; Pertz, *Ital. Reise*, Hanover, 1824 ; Röstel's article in the *Röm. Stadtbeschr.*, ii. 295. Dudik, *Iter Romanum*, ii. In the history of the papal archives and library new and important researches have been made by De Rossi, *la Bibl. della Sed. Apost. et i catal. dei suoi manosc.*, Rome, 1884 ; and *De orig. hist., indicibus Scrinii et Bibl. S. Apost. Commentatio*, Rome, 1886 ; also by E. Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibl. du Vatican au XV^{me} Siècle d'après des Doc. inédits*, Paris, 1887.

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2 N

translated the historical works of Procopius and Agathias.

The art of
printing.

Scarcely had the literary treasures of antiquity been brought to light, when, as if by natural necessity, one of the most important discoveries of the human intellect sprang into being. Printing was the great instrument that diffused human culture through the world, and from the narrow circle of 'literati' carried it to the populace. The mechanical types, which stamped thought upon paper, broke the fetters of the intellect; and it was by means of printing that society tore away the bonds of the Middle Ages. Hitherto books had been laboriously produced in the workshops of copyists. It was deemed something quite extraordinary when with forty-five writers Vespasiano was able to produce two thousand volumes in twenty-two months.¹ The copies were expensive; a Bible cost from twenty-five to forty gold ducats. Ten ducats were asked for a small copy of Cicero's Letters *ad familiares*. Poggio made Lionello d'Este pay one hundred gold florins for the letters of Jerome, and from the poet Beccadelli received one hundred and twenty ducats for a Livy, which he himself had copied.²

German printing made its way to Rome under Paul II.; and to the Eternal City, or rather to Subiaco, belongs the glory of the first printed sheets that appeared outside Germany. From the office at

¹ Burkard, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 192.

² Voigt, *Die Wiederbel. des class. Altertums*, i. 404. It was considered disgraceful to sell codices. When Poggio offered his two vols. of Jerome for sale, Nicoli held it for *signum infirmi et abjecti animi, ac penitus alieni a literis*. Poggii, *Ep.* lvi. to Lion. d'Este.

Mainz three printers, Conrad Schweinheim, Arnold Pannartz, and Ulrich Hahn journeyed to Rome in 1464, or at latest in 1465, bringing with them press, types, and workmen.¹ They had perhaps been persuaded to come to Rome by their compatriot Cardinal Cusa; he, however, died as early as August 12, 1464. The arrival of these obscure men was one of the most beneficent expeditions that Germans ever made to Rome. It was more than accident that they came to the city where Nicholas V. founded the valuable library and ordered the translation of so many authors. These manuscripts seemed to await printers, and there were, moreover, a sufficient number of scholars to revise the text. But the Germans at first found no protector in the city, whence the zeal of Nicholas V. had vanished. It appears as if the Curia foresaw that these insignificant men were more dangerous revolutionaries, and more formidable enemies to Rome, than the Hohenstaufens had ever been. The printers, poor and devoid of means, sought shelter in the convent of Subiaco, which was inhabited by several German monks, at whose head stood the learned Torquemada. This, the mother abbey of the learning of the meritorious Benedictine order, to its eternal glory, afforded

German
printers
come to
Rome in
1464 or
1465.

¹ Concerning their arrival, see: Gaspar Veron., *Vita Pauli*, ii. lib. iv. 1046: *quorum artificium narratu perdifficile—magni ingenii inventio.—Nos de Germanis primi tanti commodi artem in Romanam Curiam tuam, multo sudore et impensa decessoris tui tempestate deveximus*, say Schweinheim and Pannartz in their petition to Sixtus IV., 1472. Other passages with regard to it in Laire, *Specim. Historicum Typographiae Romanae XV. Seculi*, Rome, 1778. A. van der Linde, *Gesch. d. Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1886.

First books
printed in
the monas-
tery of
Subiaco.

a shelter to the first German printers. In 1465 Conrad and Arnold first printed the small edition of Donatus, then Cicero's *De Oratore* and Lactantius' *De Divinis Institutionibus*, and in 1467 Augustinus' *De Civitate Dei*.¹

The printer
Ulrich
Hahn.

Ulrich Hahn, a native of Ingolstadt, separated from his companions and went to Rome, where Torquemada employed the skilled printer in the production of his *Meditations*, which he wished to adorn with woodcuts. The jealousy of all other artists was aroused; they also went to Rome in 1467, and here the brothers Pietro and Francesco Massimi offered them the necessary accommodation for their work in the Palazzo Massimi. This family, which claims descent from the ancient Maximi, has, by a singular fate, been condemned to an almost blameless oblivion in the history of the city; it now, however, reaps the thanks of posterity for the asylum which it gave to the first German printers. Their earliest work here was the production of Cicero's *Letters*.²

The Mas-
simi gives
shelter
to the
printers.

¹ At the end of Lactantius stands: *Sub. A.D. MCCCCLXV. Pont. Pauli P. II. A. ejus secundo. Ind. XIII. di vero antepen. M. Oct. In vener. monast. Sublacensi. Deo gratias. Audiffredi, Catalog. Romanor. edition sæc. xv., Rome, 1783. The edition consisted of 275 copies. Lactantius was printed twice again, in Rome, in 1468 and 1470. Of the 300 copies of Donatus not one has been preserved; consequently Cicero's *De Oratore* is now the oldest printed book extant in Italy. C. Fumagalli, *Dei primi libri a stampa in Italia* . . . Lugano, 1875.—Ant. van der Linde, *Gesch. der Erf. d. Buchdruckerkunst*, i. (1886), p. 171.*

² Folio, at the end.

*Hoc Conradus opus Sweinheim ordine miro,
Arnoldusque simul Pannartz una aede colendi*

Rome looked with surprise on these foreigners with unpronounceable names, who pursued their mysterious calling in the ancient house of the Maximi.¹ They were soon joined by Gianandrea de Bussi, a Milanese and a pupil of Vittorino. This excellent man had come to Rome in extreme poverty, had entered Cusa's service, and had then been made Bishop of Aleria in Corsica by Paul II., where he remained until Sixtus IV. appointed him Bibliothecarius. The indefatigable scholar filled the difficult post of proof-reader in the German printing office. Under his supervision, and appropriately in Rome, Livy and Virgil first appeared in print. He also wrote a preface to each work, or dedication to Paul II. or Sixtus IV. He died on February 4, 1475.²

Gianandrea de Bussi, corrector of the text.

Gente Theotonico Rome expedire sodales

In Domo Petri de Maximo MCCCCLXVII.

Copies of this book are very rare. A room is still shown in the Palazzo Massimo, where the work of printing is said to have been carried on.

¹ Several of the books printed by them contain the couplets, probably written by Bussi :

Aspicias illustris lector quicumque libellos,

Si cupis artificum nomina nosse : lege.

Aspera ridebis cognomina Teutona : forsan

Mitiget ars musis inscia verba virum.

Conradus Sveyneheym, Arnoldus Pannartzque Magistri

Romae impresserunt talia multa simul.

Petrus cum fratre Francisco Maximus, ambo

Huic operi optatam contribuere domum.

The earliest instance is in Bessarion's *libri VI. de natura et arte adv. Georgium Trapezuntium calumniatorem Platonis* A.D. 1469.

² Several of Bussi's prefaces have been printed by Quirini (*ut supra*). See concerning him, Mazzucchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, i. p. ji. 701. He was born in Vigevano in 1417. His gravestone is in S. Pietro ad Vincula, not far from that of Cardinal Cusa.

Giovanni Antonio Campano, Bishop of Teramo, rendered still greater services to Ulrich Hahn. With these revisers began scientific criticism of the text. When Campano went to Germany in 1470, Hahn secured as reviser Giovanni de Lignamine, private physician to Sixtus IV., and editor of several authors. He set up a printing-press in his own house ; for the publication of books had now become a lucrative occupation. Hahn was successful ; he perfected the types, paid attention to punctuation, and was the first to employ wood-engraving. Nevertheless, after 1477, all trace of him disappears.¹

Schwein-
heim and
Pannartz
are over-
taken by
misfortune.

Less fortunate were Schweinheim and Pannartz. They had to struggle against the competition of an increasing number of printers, while the materials for the press became exhausted. There were no more buyers, and the price of books consequently declined. In 1472 both men had fallen into such distress, that in their name Bussi compiled a touching appeal to Sixtus IV., in which they begged the Pope for support ; for their house, though filled with printed sheets, was empty of all other possessions.²

¹ In Hahn's editions we occasionally find these witty lines, which were probably written by Torquemada :

*Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde quod alis
Constreperes Gallus decedit, ultior adest !
Ultrius Gallus ne quem poscantur in usum
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno,
Ingenio haud noceas : omnia vincit homo.*

² Printed in Tom. v., *Biblior. cum Commentar. Nicolai de Lyra* A.D. 1472. *Nam ingens sumptus ad victum necessarius, cessantib. emptorib., ferri amplius a nobis nequit ; et ementes non esse, nullum est gravius testimonium, quam quod domus nra. satis magna plena*

Their cry for aid seems to have met with no response; Conrad separated from Arnold in 1473, turned to copper-engraving and prepared the geographical plates for the edition of Ptolemy, which Domizio Calderini was bringing out. He died in 1476, while engaged on this work. Arnold continued printing until the same year, after which nothing more is heard of him.¹

Besides these three earliest printers there were also many other German typographers in Rome in the fifteenth century. Some were originally associated with the trio from Mainz; such were Hans of Laudenbach and George Lauer of Würzburg.² An Italian also worked with Hahn, Simone Nicolai of Lucca, first as his pupil, then as his partner. Lauer, for whom Pomponius Laetus and Platina acted as revisers, had his office in the monastery of S. Eusebio. The printers and their presses moved first to one, then to another house, where they in-

Other
German
printers in
Rome.

est quinternionum, inanis rer. necessar. They enumerate all the books which they had printed, beginning with Donatus, and, up to 1472, count 12,475 volumes. They conclude: *Interea P.S., adjuvent nos miserationes tuas, quia pauperes facti sumus nimis XX. Martii MCCCCLXXII.*

¹ The edition of Ptolemy, the printing of which was continued by Arnold Bucking, is of 1478, in fol. The printing of the twenty-seven plates is excellent. There is a copy in the Angelica. See concerning this: *Ang. M. Quirini lib. singularis de optimor. scriptor. editionib.*, with notes by Schelhorn, Lindau, 1761, p. 246. Strabo was printed in Latin before the end of the year 1471.

² Laudenbach's epitaph at Heidelberg (Laire, p. 69) says:

*Hans von Laudebach ist mein nam.
Die ersten Bücher truckt ich zu Rom.
Bitt vor mein seel. Gott gibt, dir Lohn.
Starb 1514, auff Sanct Steffan.*

variably found occupation. We even find the Capitol mentioned as a printing office.¹ Adam Roth, Leonard Pflügel from Saxony, George Saschel from Reichenhall and his companion Golsch, Joseph Gensberg, Wendelin of Weil, Hanheymer and Scheurener, Guldenbeck from Sulz, John Reinhardt, Arnold Bukink, Eucharius Frank or Silber from Würzburg, Stephen Plank from Passau, John Besiken and Sigismund Mayer were the most active printers in Rome during the last years of the fifteenth century. The four last, whose works extend into the beginning of the sixteenth, were especially diligent.²

This colony of industrious Germans was consequently active in Rome during the most terrible years of the Papacy. While the Romans still looked with contempt on the country which had given birth to these men, probably no one, not even Campano, the burlesque jester at the barbarism of the Germans, foresaw that the activity of the printers would soon be succeeded by that of the German

¹ *Repertorium utriusque juris Johis Bertachini*, printed by Lauer, in 1481, in *Capitolio urbis*. The earliest places where printing was carried on in Rome: *in domo magn. v. Petri de Maximo*; *in domo nob. v. Johis Philippi de Lignamine Siculi*; *in domo de Taliacoxis* (probably Orsini); *in pinea Regione prope palatium S. Marci*; *in domo nob. v. Francisci de Cinquinis apud S. M. de Popolo*; *in S. Eusebii Monasterio*; *in Campo Florae*; *in domib. Dominor. de Vulteris apud S. Eustachium*. The Cinquini were Pisan merchants. For his brother *Rainerius Andreas de Cinquinis* and himself, Francis erected a tomb in Aracoeli A.D. 1462; for the inscription, see Forcella, i. 141.

² For this, see Laire. A Cologne printer, who visited Rome, subscribed himself in the *liber confratern.* of S. Spirito: *Ego Hermannus Lichtensteyn colonien. impressor libror. intravi hanc sanct. confrat. XXV., Aprilis A.D. 1485.*

reformers, and that the home of printing would speedily surpass Italy in classical philology also. From 1465 German artistic industry occupied itself mainly with the earliest editions of Latin poets and prose writers; these forming the main portion of the catalogue of the earliest Roman works; afterwards the editions became less frequent. The Fathers of the Church and the Vulgate were also produced, the Vulgate being published by Schweinheim and Pannartz in 1471.¹ Of translations from the Greek, Chrysostom's *De Regno* and Plutarch's Lives were printed in 1469; these were followed by Apuleius, Hesiod, Strabo, Ptolemy, Polybius, the Ethics of Aristotle, and Herodotus. The beneficent fruits of the exertions of Nicholas V. were thus speedily disseminated by the press throughout the world. The first attempt at a translation of Homer, made by the Roman poet Niccolo de Valle, appeared in 1474. Petrarch's poems were printed for the first time in 1473.² Living scholars also made use of the press for their own works; thus Torquemada caused his *Meditations on the pictures in S. Maria sopra Minerva* to be printed in 1467. In 1471 were published the *Elegantiae* of Valla; in 1473 the *Rudimenta* of Perotti; in 1474 the *Italia Illustrata* and the *Roma Instaurata* of Blondus.

First books
printed in
Rome.

¹ The fifth printed edition of the Bible. The first is that of Mainz, A.D. 1462; then that of 1464 (also Mainz); the Augsburg edition, A.D. 1466; the Reutlinger, 1469.

² *Romae in domo Johis Ph. de Lignamine Messane*, with the couplet:

*Multus eras primum, Petrarche, plurimus es nunc.
Nec (Nam?) tu Messani dona Johannis habes.*

Spread of
printing
in Italy.

Germans also carried on printing in Venice and Milan, and in the course of twenty years more than thirty Italian cities had presses of their own. But this industry, which, as the earliest printers in Rome boasted, created books without either ink or stylus, only gained ground by slow degrees.¹ It was despised as a handicraft, which produced books devoid of ornament. And how shabby did not these works appear when compared with manuscripts, which the miniature painters had furnished with pictures and initials adorned with arabesques. Federigo of Urbino, who collected so many valuable manuscripts of this description, would have scorned to possess a printed book.² Guttenberg's marvellous discovery struggled for more than half a century, as a revolutionary innovation of proletarians, against the legitimate nobility of penmanship, and penmanship, which had just at this period attained a high degree of beauty, might show as proofs of its artistic excellence a long series of manuscripts adorned with original paintings, extending from the Vatican Virgil and Terence far beyond the Pontificale of the Ottoboni library and the sumptuous Latin Bible belonging to the Duke of Urbino. This noble and ancient art now perished under the new discovery.

Struggle
between
printing
and pen-
manship.

¹ *Non calamo, aere, vel stylo, sed nove artis ac solerti industriæ genere Rome conflatum, impressumque—ox: arte maxima et ingenio per dignissimos impressores—ox: non atramento, plumali calamo, neque aereo stylo sed artificiosa quadam adinventione imprimendi seu caratterizandi opus sic effigiatum est: thus we see it frequently in books printed in Rome. And the printers call themselves ingeniosus magister and clarus artifex.*

² *Tutti iscritti a penna, e non v'è ignuno a stampa, che se sarebbe vergognato. Vespasiano, Vita di Federigo d' Urbino, p. 129 (ed. Mai).*

In Rome itself printing was favoured only by scholars. It had to contend with the indifference of the public and even with that of some popes. We may imagine how great was the destitution of the copyists also. True, they were not yet entirely deprived of occupation by printing, for the work of copying and the traffic in manuscripts still survived in Rome.¹ After 1479 typography declined in the city, political circumstances combining to effect its fall. It revived, however, under Julius II. and Leo X. The immense activity of Aldus Manutius (1494-1515) gave new life to printing. This celebrated reformer of the art, the editor of various Latin and Greek authors, which he published according to rules of textual criticism, belongs to Venice by his labours, but was a native of Roman territory, for he was born at Bassiano, a fortress of the Gaetani, pursued his earliest studies in Rome under Gaspar of Verona and Domizio Calderinus, and always proudly called himself Aldus Romanus.²

Aldus
Manutius.

¹ In 1467 Charitononymus Hermonymus of Lacedaemon is mentioned as a copyist in Rome; in 1470 and 1471 Hieromonachus Cosmas. Bhume, *Iter Italicum*, iii. 5, following Ebert's *Handschriftenkunde*, i. 103.

² After 1503 he called himself after his pupil (Alberto Pio of Carpi), *Aldus Pius Manutius Romanus*. Before him but few Greek books were printed. A complete edition of Homer, in two folio vols., was produced in sumptuous form by Demetr. Chalkondyles, Florence, 1488. The first entire Greek book, which was printed in Germany, was significantly the New Testament, edited by Erasmus, Froben, Basle, 1516. In 1512 Reuchlin edited the minor works of Xenophon; in 1522, the speeches of Demosthenes (Hagenau, Anselmi).—Aldus employed italics (*characteres cursivi seu cancellarii*, which the French called *italique*). Virgil was thus first printed in octavo in 1501. J. Schück, *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeiten. in Italien und Deutsch-*

2. THE HUMANISTS, THEIR CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE — LATIN PHILOLOGISTS — BRUNI — POGGIO — FILELFO — BECCADELLI — LORENZO VALLA — HIS REFUTATION OF THE SPURIOUS DONATION OF CONSTANTINE — HIS ACTIVITY AND HIS WRITINGS — GREEK PHILOLOGY — THE BYZANTINE FUGITIVES — CHRYSOLORAS — GEORGE OF TREBIZOND — THEODORE GAZA — JOHN ARGYROPULOS — NICHOLAS SAGUNDINUS — BESSARION — ORIENTAL LANGUAGES — MANETTI — REUCHLIN.

The
Humanists
and their
character.

The political divisions of Italy favoured the rise of the new culture; cities and princes rivalling one another in the glory of furthering its advance. Learned men were summoned as podestàs had been in the Middle Ages. They wandered free of hindrance from city to city, from court to court, like the sophists in antiquity. The scholars of the fifteenth century, indeed, greatly resembled the sophists. They had the same many-sidedness, and the like defects of vanity, quarrelsomeness, avarice, and frivolity. These errant spirits of an age that was in process of ferment, in which the ancient conception of the world was dissolved, were versatile men of modern passions, frequently of handsome exterior and of universal genius. Men such as Nicoli, Alberti, Piccolomini, Pico della Mirandola, would have been conspicuous even in the eighteenth century. Universality was naturally a feature of

land, Berlin, 1862. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes*, Paris, 1834. 3rd Edition. Armand Baschet, Aldo Manuzio, *Lettere et Docum.*, Venice, 1867. Supplements to these by R. Fulin, in the *Archivio Veneto*, i. i. 156.

Humanism.¹ It was necessary to release the scholastic man from his one-sided education, and transform him into an independent personality. The intellectual movement at that time stirred all strata of educated society. A pope such as Nicholas V., a prince such as Federigo of Urbino, was versed in every province of intellectual knowledge. Federigo studied the ancient philosophers, as well as the Fathers of the Church, and the classics; he understood mathematics, architecture, and music, as well as the fine arts. No wonder that such men exercised an unbounded influence.

The character of universality lay already in classic literature; it was therefore necessarily reflected in the productions of the Humanists. The Humanists, grammarians and rhetoricians, historians, geographers and antiquaries, translators and poets, penetrated every department of ancient learning. They started with eloquence, and this sweet gift of the ancients, a dower of the south, was the coveted gem of the sages of that time. Style and eloquence are the ideals of the Humanists, Quintilian and Cicero their masters. The discovery of Cicero's letters and orations, begot in itself two inexhaustible species of humanistic production, the political and social discourses, and the letters to friends, in the collection of which Petrarch had already taken the lead. The ancient branches of literature which consisted of the philosophic treatise, of the dialogue and biography,

¹ *Universale in tutte le cose degne*, says Vespasiano once of Niccoli, and, if only as a specimen, we should read Vespasiano's description of this beautiful personality.

were revived. The same Humanists laid hold of epigram, satire, the ode, and the epic as ancient forms of language. The entire conception of life held in antiquity was revived in letters.

But these products of neo-Latinism suffered the fate of the revival of dead forms of culture in a dead language. Those scholars who were so firmly convinced that the immortality of princes depended on their speech or silence, and were as persuaded of the survival of their own fame as of that of Homer or Virgil, now fill nothing more than a niche in a history of literature.¹ Insipid though their exercises of style may appear to us to-day, nevertheless the letters, treatises, speeches, and poems were vessels, formed after the antique, for the reception of the ideas of their own time. Their services to the culture of the human race are imperishable. They produced a wealth of intellectual life, new in form and substance to their own age; they fanned the still surviving sparks of the Hellenic spirit once more into flame, and, by their laborious and enthusiastic studies, placed the world in possession of those treasures which still form the most essential part of our culture. And this culture itself, as well as all the schools of Europe, are still the continuation of the Humanism of the fifteenth century. They paved the way for modern learning by their critical

Their
lasting
services.

¹ Outside Naples, says Blondus, no one would know anything of King Robert; he only survives because Petrarch wrote of him. *Ital.*, iii. 234. And this is not altogether wrong. The Humanists sometimes threatened to kill the princes by silence. Procopius had already said that historians rewarded princes for insignificant benefits by conferring immortality upon them. *De Aedificiis*, i. p. 170, ed. Bonn.

philology and by their philosophic contemplation from more universal points of view, from which scientific research and method took their rise. For it was only a later age that succeeded in discarding neo-Latin mannerism, and shattering the ancient mask, in which the Humanists had veiled the intellect, in order to free it from monastic scholasticism.

Out of the literature of the Renaissance we shall merely specify such characters as belong to the history of Roman culture, if indeed it were possible to write a separate history on the subject. For Rome was merely one of the great centres of intellectual activity.

Latin philologists here took the foremost place. Almost all the Florentine Latinists stood in intercourse with Rome. Their energies, however, belonged entirely to Florence. Of the four heads of early Humanism—Bruni, Poggio, Filelfo and Valla—Valla alone was a Roman.

Leonardo Bruni, born in Arezzo in 1369, came to Rome as early as 1405, and acted as secretary to the popes until the Council in Constance. Henceforward he remained in Florence, where he was Chancellor of the republic after 1427, and where he died in 1443. Bruni, like his compatriot Petrarch, received the homage paid to genius during his life-time; for so great was his fame as a Latinist and Hellenist, that he was almost idolised. Foreigners came to Florence only to see this man, who had also the advantage of great personal beauty. An enthusiastic Spaniard even knelt before him. His obsequies, when Manetti

Leonardo
Bruni,
1369-1443.

made the funeral oration, and crowned the dead with laurel, was a truly sublime act of the worship which Italians paid to fame. Bruni's chief work is the history of Florence, but neither it nor any of his other historic works, written in imitation of antiquity, nor his dialogues, discourses, letters, and translations of Greek authors, the *History of his own Time* excepted, belong to Rome.¹

Poggio
Braccio-
lini, 1380-
1459.

Poggio maintained a closer relation with the city. This man, possessed of so many gifts and of such unusual vital energy, was born at Terranuova, near Arezzo, in 1380, and like Bruni was the pupil of John of Ravenna and Chrysoloras in Florence. He became papal scribe in 1402, and served eight popes without ever living in Rome. He followed the Curia to Constance, and there witnessed the heroic death of Jerome of Prague, whom he extolled in a magnificent letter to Bruni.² From Constance he undertook his journeys of literary discovery; as early as 1416 he went to Germany and France.³ On the invitation of Cardinal Beaufort he visited England, where he found himself disillusioned in his expectations.⁴ He quitted this inhospitable, and—to an Italian—still barbarous country, to obey the summons of Martin V., and in 1432 re-entered the service of the Roman

¹ See the Vita in L. Bruni, *Aretini, Ep.*, libri viii., ed. Mehus. The introduction contains the catalogue of his writings and the funeral orations pronounced upon him by Manetti and Poggio.

² *Constantiae III. Kal. Jun. quo die Hieronymus poenas luit*, Ep. ii. vol. i., ed. Tonelli, 1832. He compared him to Socrates.

³ Read his delightful account of the life led at the baths of Baden in Switzerland (A.D. 1416): Letter to Nicoli, the first in this edition.

⁴ Shepherd, *Life of* — Poggio, i. c. 3.

chancery. He eagerly studied antiquities, collected inscriptions, and compiled that survey of the monuments of Rome which forms the introduction to his treatise, *De varietate fortunæ*. This, his most interesting work, was written shortly before the death of Martin V.¹ He explored the Campagna, he visited Alatri with its Cyclopean walls, Ferentino, Anagni, Tusculum and Grotta Ferrata in search of ruins and inscriptions. A dialogue which he wrote upon Greed and Sensuality, and in which he mercilessly attacked priests and monks, drew upon him the wrath of the Minorites. On following Eugenius IV. to Florence he became involved in a violent quarrel with Filelfo, the enemy of the Medici. He remained in Tuscany and acquired an estate in Valdarno which he adapted to the uses of his Ciceronian "Academy."² He was recalled to Rome by Nicholas V. To him he dedicated his work, *De varietate fortunæ*, and the Pope left him unmolested, when in a dialogue he again jeered at the hypocrisy of the clergy. He wrote the invective against the anti-pope Felix V., but rendered a greater service to learning by his translations of the *Cyropaedia* and of Diodorus.³ The pestilence drove him to Tuscany

¹ *Historiae de Varietate Fortunæ libri quatuor*; best edition, Paris, 1723.

² In December 1435, when nearly sixty, he married the young and beautiful Vaggia Buendelmonti, after having separated from a mistress, who had borne him several children.

³ A copy with beautiful initials is contained in the *Cod. Vat.* 1811. The first represents Poggio, handing the Diodorus to the Pope. His portrait is also found in the *Cod. Vat.* 224, which contains several of his writings.

in 1450, where he collected his celebrated *Facetiae*, indecent anecdotes, which immediately gained a widespread circulation.¹ In 1453 Poggio was summoned to Florence as Chancellor on the death of the celebrated Carlo Aretino. With deep regret he left Rome, where he had served the popes for fifty years, to spend six more years of activity in Florence. He here compiled his last and greatest work, the history of the Florentine republic from 1350 to 1455, and died on October 30, 1459.

Poggio is the chief representative of Humanism ; a man of many sides, he lacked depth, and made Cicero his model. To his contemporaries he seemed a genius of eloquence ; knowledge of art was alone wanting to render him complete.² His vanity and fiery temper involved him in endless quarrels with other Humanists, especially with Filelfo, Perrotti, Valla, George of Trebizond and Guarino. The "Invectives" which he wrote and received surpassed in coarseness all that had ever appeared in this field of literary warfare. The lasting services of Poggio consist in his discovery of ancient authors and the stimulus which he gave to the study of antiquity. Like Petrarch he maintained a correspondence with all the prominent men of his time, and was thus one of the most influential leaders of the entire humanistic movement.

Francesco
Filelfo,
1398-1481.

Equally celebrated was his rival Filelfo, whose life forms a true mirror of this period of humanistic

¹ Some of these *Facetiae* are already found in the *Fabliaux* of the Provençals : Shepherd, ii. c. 10.

² *Paolo Cortese de hom. doct.*, p. 228.

vagrants ; a genuine type of the sophist, egotist, and boaster, a vulgar courtier, a malicious slanderer, an insatiable pleasure-seeker, but nevertheless an enthusiastic student and an untiringly active virtuoso in the professor's chair. Francesco Filelfo entered on his career through Byzantium itself, and was also one of the first who combined Latinism and Hellenism in his own person. Born at Tolentino in 1398, he studied under Barziza in Padua, became professor in Venice, and about 1420 went to Constantinople as secretary to the Venetian legation. He here learnt Greek and won the favour of the Emperor John Palaeologus. As diplomatic agent for Venice he journeyed to Amurath II., and on the affairs of this Emperor to Hungary and even to Poland. In Constantinople he married the beautiful daughter of John Chrysoloras, and with her and a valuable collection of Greek books returned to Venice in 1427. Soon after he became professor in Bologna, and thence went to Florence in 1429.¹ In the five years of his energetic life he quarrelled with all his literary friends, whom he attacked in scandalous lampoons.² He was wounded by an assassin, and escaped to Siena. Ignominiously banished from Florence, he attempted by means of a hireling to compass the murder of Cosimo de Medici. After having been professor at Bologna in 1439, he took up his abode at the court of the last Visconti, and

¹ With 300 ducats a year ; he received 450 at Bologna, the revenue of a professor at that time. Rosmini, *Vita di Filelfo*, i. 25, 29.

² *Philelphi Opus Satirar. seu Hecatostichon Decades X.*, first printed in Milan, 1476.

entered Rome for the first time on June 18, 1453, on his way to Naples. He determined not to visit Nicholas V., whom he had assailed with impudent demands for preferment in the Church, and the request if possible to be made a cardinal. The Pope, however, sent for him. He went and remained with Nicholas for several days, reading with zest the satires which he was bearing to King Alfonso. Although these base attacks were directed against old friends and benefactors of Nicholas V., the Pope appointed Filelfo secretary, and with his own hand presented him with a purse containing 500 ducats. Alfonso solemnly crowned the celebrated man as poet. Returning to Milan, Filelfo began a Sforziad in honour of Duke Francesco, but, on the death of his patron, did not continue the epic. The poet, advanced in years and accustomed to luxury, was neglected by Galeazzo Maria. Always in difficulties, always flattering princes and popes and reviling them on their death, he hoped to receive a post in Rome, but only obtained his desire under Sixtus IV. in 1474. He remained three years at the University of Rome, where he expounded Cicero. He was charmed by the city, its climate, the wealth and beauty of life, even the incredible degree of freedom which were here enjoyed. He lamented that he only came to inhabit it at the end of his life.¹ Twice again he went to Milan, became reconciled to the Medici, accepted an invitation to Florence at the age of eighty-three, and died after his arrival in the Tuscan

¹ *Et quod maximi omnium faciendum videtur mihi, incredibilis quaedam hic libertas est.* Ep. lx. in Rosmini, 3 Kal. April 1475.

capital on July 31, 1481. The world at this time resounded with Filelfo's fame. His numerous writings in prose and verse, many of which have never been printed, his treatises, dialogues, speeches, satires, odes and letters in their time were important means of education in the sphere of Latin learning. Nevertheless they were able to secure him—who deemed himself a demi-god—nothing more than the paper-immortality of the library.¹

Much more powerful, because more scientific, than the influence of these three Latinists was that of Lorenzo Valla. This gifted man is an ornament to Rome in the fifteenth century, and an immortal force in learning, which in him possessed a pioneering intellect and a critic of the rank of Lessing. His father Luca was a citizen of Piacenza, a doctor of civil and canon law, and an advocate of the Consistory in Rome, where his son Lorenzo was born about 1406.² He remained here engaged in study until his twenty-fourth year. His teacher in Latin was Leonardo Bruni, his masters in Greek, Rinuccuccio and Aurispa. As professor of eloquence at Pavia he began his literary career with the dialogues "Concerning Pleasure and the True Good," in which

Lorenzo
Valla,
1406-1459.

¹ *Vita di Fr. Filelfo*, by Carlo Rosmini, 3 vols., Milan, 1808, with the portrait of the poet by Mantegna. By his three wives he had twenty-four children, all of whom he outlived except four daughters.

² Zumpt, *Leben und Verdienste des Laurentius Valla*. Vol. iv. of Ad. Schmidt's *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* shows that the date in Valla's epitaph is wrong (instead of 1457 we must read 1465), appealing to Drakenborg's preface to Livy (vol. vii. of his edition).

Antonio
Beccadelli.

he derided the monastic virtue of renunciation. By the mouth of Panormita he gives utterance to the opinion that *hetaerae* were of greater service to mankind than holy nuns. At Siena, Panormita or Antonio Beccadelli of Palermo had delighted the Latin world by his *Hermaphroditus*—a collection of obscene epigrams in classic form. Nothing more clearly shows the breach of the time with Christian morals and the deification of the antique form; nor does anything more plainly reveal the unbounded corruption of manners than the approval which these shameless productions roused throughout the entire world, even among clergy of high position.¹ The cult of sensuality had been one of the earliest results of Humanism; Bocaccio had already struck the note; Poggio's *Facetiae* belong to the same category. These attacks, made with the brilliant weapons of antiquity, irritated the Minorites, but classical frivolity was protected by the admiration of all that was ancient and consequently perfect. The Franciscans, who like Bernardino, or Albert of Sarteana, or Robert of Lecce, burnt objects of luxury on the pyre, consigned the *Hermaphroditus* instead of the author to the flames, and procured a bull against the book. But the Emperor Sigismund publicly crowned the poet in Siena, and he was then summoned by Alfonso to Naples as an ornament of his literary court.

Valla also went thither. After 1435 he followed the honoured King, whom he even accompanied on

¹ The *Hermaphroditus Antonii Beccadelli* was published in Germany for the first time by Forberg, Coburg, 1824.

his seafaring expeditions. About 1440 he was back in Rome, occupied in refuting Constantine's Donation; and behind this memorable work stood the enemies of the Pope—the Council of Basle and King Alfonso.¹ The pamphlet becoming notorious, Valla fled to the protection of Alfonso. He gave public readings at Naples. Like Poggio, a despiser of monastic traditions, he attacked the Minorites afresh with bitter polemic. These Franciscans, in whom Eugenius IV. sought the props of tottering monasticism, were at this time in Italy what the Dominicans had been in Germany in the beginning of the Reformation—the champions of the now-dying scholastic ideal, the men of darkness in the light of Humanism. The sharp-sighted Valla denied the authenticity of the letter of Abgarus to Christ, and that the Apostles had combined to frame the Apostles' Creed. He was brought before the Inquisition, but his royal protector suppressed the proceedings and deprived the opponents of progress of the pleasure of kindling a funeral pyre. The bold humanist issued triumphant from the combat.

Valla's
quarrel
with the
Franciscans.

It was doubtless also Alfonso who encouraged him to publish his work, "Concerning the forged and falsely-accredited Donation of Constantine." This masterpiece of destructive criticism and of Ciceronian declamation incontrovertibly destroyed those monstrous and pernicious fables of the eighth

His criticism of the
Donation
of Constantine.

¹ Valla's life contains many obscure passages; and we have not as yet any thorough biography of him. The latest sketch of him and his works is, *Lorenzo Valla, ein vortrag von J. Vahlen*, Berlin, 1870.

century. Otto III. had already denied them ; even in Hohenstaufen times they had been ridiculed by the republicans of Rome, and Dante had demonstrated their impossibility from the standpoint of political law. Notwithstanding they had been recognised as genuine by jurisconsults. Valla now proved that the Donation never had been, nor ever could be, made, and from his evidences drew the conclusion, which was for him the chief point, that the Pope possessed no rights over Rome or the secular state. With unexampled audacity, which, like the work itself, had only been made possible by the struggle for reform at Basle, he turned against Eugenius IV., and even incited the Romans to rebellion against the Pope. "If the people of Israel," he exclaimed, "were permitted to forsake David and Solomon, who had been anointed by the prophets, shall we not have the right to abjure so great a tyranny, and to renounce those who neither are nor can be kings, and who from shepherds of the sheep have become thieves and robbers."¹ He boldly called the papal government the source of all evil, a rule of executioners and enemies. "If the Donation were genuine, it would be already rendered null by the crimes of the Papacy alone, through the avarice of which Italy has been plunged in constant war." He called on Eugenius to abdicate, and closed his pamphlet with the wish that he might see the day when the Pope should again be simply a priest.

¹ He adds : *Et si licet aliis nationib., quae sub Roma fuerunt, aut regem sibi creare, aut rempublicam tenere : multo magis id licere populo Ro. praecipue adu. novam papae tyrannidem.*

This pamphlet was the boldest attack on the secular Papacy on which even a reformer had ever ventured; must not a new popular tribune, another Stefano Porcaro now appear? The treatise was circulated in private; the Roman Curia eagerly waylaid it, and it soon became scarce. Hutten first rediscovered it, and had it printed with a sarcastic dedication to Leo X.¹ But Valla did not stand alone against his critics, for in 1443 Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope, urged Frederick III. to have the spuriousness of this Donation, which is not discovered in any genuine author, even in the *Liber Pontificalis*, discussed in Council. At the same time its authenticity was denied by Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, and Cusa also (whose opinions Piccolomini had adopted) had already shown that the emperors had ruled over Ravenna and Rome until the time of Charles, that the Imperium had in nowise been transferred to Charles through the Pope, and that the Pope moreover did not possess the authority of a sovereign.²

¹ *Laurentii Vallensis Patricii Romani, De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione, declamatio: apud Schardium de Jurisd.*, with the preface by Hutten *ex arce Stackelberg, Kal. Dec. 1517*. Also in the *Opp. Vallas*.

² *Cusa de Concordantia cathol.*, iii. c. ii., shows that the *Imp. christianor.* was in *sua praesidentia Christi vicarius*, and that the Pope did not possess the *imper. dominationis*. The views of Aeneas Sylvius are given in the *Pentalog. de reb. Ecc. et Imp.*, in *Pez, Thesaur.*, iv., P. iii. 679. Those of Peacock in *Repressor*, pp. 361-367, are quoted by Döllinger in "*Die Schenk. Constant.*" (*Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*). Less enlightened was the German canonist Peter de Andlo: *de Imperio—Romano Germanico*, c. xi. (A.D. 1460, printed at Nuremberg, 1657). The Canonists maintained

The Roman Valla apparently desired to become the Hutten of Italy, but there was no depth of earnestness in these Italian rhetoricians. They probably loved the truth, but they loved fame more; they loved dispute because it afforded the opportunity of appearing original and clever. They admired the martyrs of thought, as Poggio had admired Jerome of Prague, but they themselves took good care not to become martyrs. Valla ardently longed to return to Rome, and implored cardinals Scarampo and Landriani to use their intercession in his behalf. His letters to these men do not show him to have been pusillanimous, nevertheless he condescended to write them. He justified his audacious pamphlet, saying that he wrote it "not from hatred to the Pope but from love of truth, of religion, yea even of glory, that people may acknowledge that I alone know what no one knows"; and he finally says, as Luther did at Worms, "only with the words of Gamaliel will I justify my work to-day: if my counsel be of men, it will perish; if of God, you will not be able to overthrow it."¹

In 1445 Valla seems to have ventured back to Rome, whence he was obliged to flee to Naples a

the authenticity of the Donation, until Baronius admitted its spuriousness. I find the Donation still printed in the *Opusculum Romuli et Remi* (printed in Rome in 1501), a history of Rome with a list of the Stations. (*Bibl. Angelica.*)

¹ *Valla rev. Patri D. Ludovico S. R. E. Card. Camerarioq.; Ap. XIII. Kal. Dec. Neap.*: in *Epistolae regum, principum, etc. Argentinae per Lazar. Zetsnerum*, A.D. 1593, p. 336.—On p. 341 the still more urgent letter to Landriani, *XII. Kl. Febr. Neap.* (probably A.D. 1445).

few weeks later. He now sent an apology to Eugenius himself, in which he mainly defended his pamphlet *de voluptate*, but was silent concerning the Donation of Constantine.¹ He begged to be allowed to enter the papal service, implored forgiveness for what he had done at the suggestion of others, from desire for fame and love of disputation, and promised henceforward to dedicate himself entirely to the papal interest.² This step remained fruitless. Eugenius never forgave Valla, but Nicholas V. did. The very Roman, who remained under suspicion of heresy and who had attacked the temporal Papacy with greater violence than either Marsilius or Wycliffe, was honourably invited by Eugenius's successor to return to Rome, appointed apostolic secretary and reduced to silence. Nicholas was acquainted with the nature of rhetoricians, and employed Valla's talents in the translation of Herodotus and Thucydides. After 1448 Valla lived in Rome, where he competed with George of Trebizond as professor of eloquence. The work to which he had exhorted the Romans was forthwith achieved under his own eyes; but Porcaro, who intended to carry his theory into action, as Cola de Rienzo had formerly carried Petrarch's, was denied by Valla. The scholar henceforward remained entirely absorbed in his philological activities. He entered into controversy

Valla seeks to obtain the Pope's favour.

Nicholas V. summons him to Rome.

¹ Valla, *Op.*, p. 795. And Laur. Vallas *Oratio ad summ. Pont. Neap. pridie Id. Martias*: in the *Epistolae regum, ut supra*, p. 397.

² *Ut si quid retractione opus est, et quasi ablutione, en tibi me nudum offero*—

with George of Trebizond concerning the merits of Cicero and Quintilian : with Poggio into still more eager strife, which divided the learned world into two hostile camps. They made war on one another by means of lampoons, but Poggio was no match for the more acute intellect of his rival.¹ Calixtus III. also made Valla his secretary and bestowed a prebend at the Lateran upon him. The bold free-thinker died on August 1, 1457, only fifty years old, a canon of that Church where his grave is seen.

His philological works, more particularly his *Elegantiae*, still held in esteem, exercised so powerful an influence that Erasmus called him the true restorer of Latin literature. He was himself proudly conscious of having been the pioneer in the renaissance of the Latin language, the importance of which he eloquently described as that of the vessel which contained the whole of Humanism.² Valla was one of the earliest founders of philological criticism, and criticism was in the main the most striking characteristic of this brilliant intellect.³ He armed himself in the name of the healthy human understanding and of reason against the clerical and scholastic system, and consequently made war on the supremacy of Aristotle. His keen glance penetrated and unveiled

¹ *Antidotus in Poggium*. Zumpt considers the fourth Invektive Valla's best and most brilliant work. It is noteworthy that he accuses Poggio of having forged or falsified Eugenius IV.'s order for Vitelleschi's arrest. *Antidot.*, p. 199.

² Introduction to the *Elegantiae* (*Op. Basle ap. Hen. Petrum*, 1543).

³ Paolo Cortese calls him *Egregie doctus sed acer et maledicus, et toto genere paullo asperior*.

falsehoods and errors in more than one province of learning; in theology and philosophy, in jurisprudence and historiography. Everywhere we perceive flashes of the lightning of the criticism which emanated from his marvellous intellect, and showed the way to his successors. It is also worthy of note that he occupied his energies in criticism of the text of the *Vulgata*. This work remained unpublished and consequently fell into oblivion, until Erasmus discovered it in Belgium and edited it.¹

Side by side with Latin literature the Humanists also dedicated themselves with enthusiasm to Greek. John of Ravenna and the Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras were the first teachers of Greek of repute in Italy.² After Chrysoloras had been summoned from Venice to Florence in 1397, almost all the great humanists—Bruni, Poggio, Traversari, Nicoli and Manetti—were his pupils; and so quickly did the Italians learn Greek, that with an ingenious simile it might be said, that perfectly equipped Greeks issued from the school of Chrysoloras as from the wooden horse of Troy. Several scholars were also formed by Guarino, Aurispa and Filelfo, who had learnt Greek in Byzantium. Finally the Councils of Union rendered still more active the intercourse between Latins and Greeks. Through them Bessarion and

Manuel
Chryso-
loras.

¹ *Laurent. Vallensis in latinam novi Testam. interpretation ex collatione graecor. exemplarium adnotationes apprimae utiles.* Paris, fol. 1505; Erhard, ii. 535. Zumpt, *ut supra*, p. 432.

² With him Cortese begins the series of learned men in his Dialogue (written about 1490) *De hominib. doctis.*; Edition of *Phil. Villani de civ. Flor. famosis civib.* by G. C. Galletti, Florence, 1847.

Gemistos Plethon came to Italy, where Plethon inspired Cosimo with the idea of establishing a Platonic Academy in Florence.

The
Greeks in
Italy.

With no less reverence than ancient Rome had shown to the first Greek sophists did Italy receive the first Byzantines. In the course of time these Graeculi fell into contempt as in antiquity. Italian patriotism even complained that the invasion of Greek literature was prejudicial to Latin learning.¹ Some Greeks acquired professors' chairs, others wandered hungry here and there, like the cynics of Lucian. These fugitives, filled with Byzantine self-conceit, regarded the Italians as barbarians. They themselves were the degenerate legitimists of Hellenism, beggars of the highest aristocracy of classic culture. Ever remaining foreign to the Latin temperament, they sighed for the shores of the Bosphorus, which was Paradise in their eyes, although unfortunately under the power of Turkish pashas. Nevertheless, the intellectual union of the two halves of the ancient Empire was more feasible than the union of their churches. The renaissance of Hellenism on the soil of Italy is, moreover, one of the most memorable facts in the history of culture. Greece returned to find a home in Italy, and consequently in the West. There were but few scholars who, like Nicholas V., Blondus and Pomponius Laetus, scarcely understood Greek. About the middle of the fifteenth century this language formed a part of the principal culture of the Italians. Greek was even spoken by noble women. The ten years

¹ Paolo Cortese, p. 227.

old daughter of Gonzaga astonished Traversari by the good Greek which she wrote, thanks to the teaching of Vittorino. This enthusiasm expired after the middle of the sixteenth century. But in 1550 a young girl, Olympia Morati, was still famous at the court of Ferrara for her poems in the Greek language.¹

Spread of
the Greek
language
in Italy.

Chrysoloras was the first teacher of Greek in Rome. Under Eugenius IV. he was succeeded by George of Trebizond with such renown, that Spaniards, Germans and French flocked to attend the lectures. For Nicholas V. George translated the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy and the *Praeparatio* of Eusebius, but after quarrelling with Bessarion, Gaza, Perotti and Poggio was banished from Rome. He returned under Paul II., but involved himself in fresh litigation. He died in Rome in 1484 at the age of ninety, and was buried in the Minerva, in the neighbourhood of which he owned a modest dwelling.²

George of
Trebizond.

Theodore Gaza from Thessalonica, a friend of Bessarion and celebrated as the first scholar of his time, as a model of Humanism and unblemished virtue, also taught in Rome. In 1451 he entered the service of Nicholas V., for whom he translated Theophrastus. Sixtus IV. rewarded him for his translation of the works of Aristotle "on animals" with fifty scudi, which the noble Greek contemptuously

Theodore
Gaza.

¹ *Vie d'Olympia Morata. Episode de la renaissance et de la réforme en Italie*, par Jules Bonnet, Paris, 1856.

² Even in the time of Leo Allatius his epitaph had become effaced and unreadable. *Humphredus Hodius de Graecis illustrib. linguae graecae literarumq. humaniorum instauratorib.*, London, 1742, p. 108.

threw into the Tiber. He died in misery in Lucania about 1484.¹

John Argyropulos.

John Argyropulos, whose expositions of Thucydides were attended by Reuchlin, also taught in Rome under Sixtus IV. He translated the writings of Aristotle into Latin. Nicholas Sagundinus of Negroponte, who came to the Council of Ferrara and then entered the service of the republic of Venice, also attained celebrity. Pius II. invited him to Rome, where he died on March 23, 1463.

Nicholas Sagundinus.

More fortunate than any of his contemporaries was Bessarion of Trebizond, the celebrated protector of the learned Greeks who emigrated to Italy. He owed his fame to his position of representative of the union of the churches, and the advocate of unfortunate Greece. He came to the Council of Ferrara as Archbishop of Nicea, seceded to the Latin Church and thus laid the foundation of his fortune. Eugenius IV. made him a cardinal in 1439. He acquired mastery of the Latin language, and Latinised himself, but the gravity of his manners and his long beard betrayed the Greek. He was made Commendatore of the Abbey of Grotta Ferrata, where the convent of Basilians still endured, and to this beautiful solitude he frequently retired. His court near the SS. Apostoli became the rendezvous of celebrated Greeks and of Italian Hellenists; he

¹ *Pierii Valeriani de Literator. infelicitate*, p. 371. The manuscript of Theodore's translation of this book of Aristotle, a sumptuous work with beautiful paintings, is preserved in the Vaticana (n. 2094). The first complete edition of Aristotle is the *editio princeps* of Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1495-1498, at the cost of Alberto Pio of Carpi.

there offered a hospitable asylum to many Greek fugitives. Andronikos, Kallistos, Constantine Lascaris, Gaza, Blondus, Perotti, Platina and others resorted to his palace. His learned circle assumed the character of an Academy, where Platonic wisdom and also other branches of learning were made the subjects of discussion at lively symposia.¹ Bessarion was an ardent collector of books, and had no difficulty in acquiring manuscripts from Greek convents. He bequeathed his library, which consisted of nine hundred volumes, not to Rome but to Venice, whither it came on his death, which took place at Ravenna in November 1472. Of his own writings the only epoch-making works were "The books against the calumniators of Plato," in which he attacked George of Trebizond. This celebrated controversy concerning the merits of Plato and Aristotle occupied the whole of the learned world, but by his work in 1464 Bessarion secured the victory to Plato. Nevertheless his academy of learning produced no result. Florence achieved a much greater influence, where the pantheistic paganism of the neo-Platonists in the person of Marsilio Ficino scored a decisive victory over the Aristotelian system of the schoolmen and the dogmatism of the Middle

Plato's
victory
over the
scholasti-
cism of
Aristotle.

¹ See above all: *Platinae Panegyricus in laudem Bessarionis Cardalis*, printed by Ch. Fr. Boerner, *de doctis hominib. Graecis litterar. graecar. in Italia instauratorib.*, Lips., 1750. And *Bandini de vita et reb. gestis Bessarionis Cardlis commentarius*, Rome, 1777.—More recent: Wolfgang von Goethe, *Studien u. Forschungen über das Leben u. die Zeit des Card. Bessarion*, Jena, 1871. Henri Vast, *Le Card. Bessarion*, Paris, 1878.—The tomb of the Cardinal is in the cloister of SS. Apostoli.

Ages. The tomb of Bessarion in SS. Apostoli with its Greek inscription recalls the revival of Hellenism in Italy, but the later epitaph on John Lascaris in S. Agatha on the Quirinal still better expresses the gratitude of the Greek refugees for hospitality received in Italy.

Hebrew
and
Oriental
languages.

While classic literature once more became the property of the Italians, Hebrew and Chaldee were at first neglected. When Poggio contemplated studying Hebrew, his friend Bruni tried to prove that Jewish literature was absolutely useless in scientific learning.¹ There were, however, scholars in Venice and Florence, who candidly acknowledged that the translation of the *Vulgate* was not sufficient, and that recourse ought to be made to the fountain head. Pico della Mirandola was conversant with Hebrew and Arabic; Traversari also understood Hebrew, and was highly delighted when Mariano, brother of Stephen Porcaro, presented him in Rome with a Codex which contained the Psalms, Job, and other books of the Old Testament in the original.²

Gianozzo
Manetti.

The Florentine Gianozzo Manetti, a man of many-sided culture, who as rhetorician was the admired of his contemporaries, learnt Hebrew with avidity. After having filled high offices in the republic, he was driven into exile by the envy of his fellow-citizens, and went first to Rome, then to Alfonso in Naples, where he died on October 26,

¹ Tiraboschi, vi. ii. c. 2.—Leon. Aretino, Ep. ix. 12 to Giovanni Cirignano of Lucca.

² *Ambr. Camald.*, Ep. xi. 16.—Girolamo Ranusio of Venice translated Avicenna from the Arabic.

1459.¹ Nicholas V. made him his secretary, in order to profit by his knowledge of Hebrew ; for the Pope also collected Oriental manuscripts, and set aside 5000 gold pieces as reward for the discovery of the gospel of S. Matthew. Manetti was commissioned to translate the whole of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek, and to compile an apologetic work for the purpose of converting the Turk and heathen. The death of the Pope, however, prevented the completion of the task.

In Rome the study of Oriental literature was recognised as necessary from the time of Nicholas V. Sixtus IV. appointed a Hebrew scribe to the Vatican library. To German enterprise was reserved the task of founding anew the science of this language. Reuchlin, however, who compiled the first Hebrew grammar, was able to study in Rome in 1498, where a learned Jew, Obadiah Sforza from Cesena, gave him instruction, and where he also acquired MSS. for the Heidelberg library.²

Reuchlin
in Rome.

¹ *Vita Janotii Manetii*, by Naldo Naldi, *Muras.*, xx. P. Cortese excellently says of him : *ex quo profecto intelligi potest, plus valere ad famam—unius simplicis generis virtutem absolutam, quam multa annexa genera virtutum non perfectarum*, p. 227.

² The first Hebrew book printed in Germany was an edition of the seven penitential Psalms, edited by Reuchlin in 1512. Erhard, iii. 278.

3. BEGINNINGS OF ARCHAEOLOGY—THE MONUMENTS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY — WAKENING OF THE FEELING FOR ANTIQUITIES — BEGINNINGS OF THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM—DISCOVERY OF THE CORPSE OF A YOUNG GIRL BELONGING TO REMOTE TIMES—LIVY IN PADUA—FIRST EXCAVATIONS—OSTIA AND PORTUS—THE BOAT OF TIBERIUS IN LAKE NEMI—PIUS II. AS ARCHAEOLOGIST—ERECTION OF STATUES IN THE ROMAN PALACES — RESURRECTION OF THE APOLLO OF THE BELVEDERE.

In the age of Humanism classical philology uniting with the study of the ruins of Rome created the science of local archaeology. It was high time to preserve the monuments to learning, for their destruction still went on unhindered. We have already heard the laments of Chrysoloras and Poggio. In 1417 Cincius wrote that the destruction of the Amphitheatre, the Circus, the Colosseum, or of monuments or valuable marble walls might be witnessed daily at the hands of citizens, if citizens, or even men, they might be called who perpetrated these atrocities. The indignant Humanist demanded that the punishment of death should be awarded to the destroyers of monuments or manuscripts.¹ When Traversari came to Rome in 1432, he was dismayed by the sight of the city, strewn with the ruins of columns and statues; and exclaimed that it was an impressive testimony to the instability of all earthly things, if one but recalled the appearance of ancient Rome.² Cyriac, acting as guide through Rome to

The Romans destroy the antiquities of the city.

¹ In Quirini, *Diatriba*, p. vii.

² *Ambros. Camald.*, Ep. 13. xi.

the Emperor Sigismund in 1433, complained to him of the degraded sense of the Romans, who reduced to lime the ruins and monuments of their city.¹ After the time of Martin V. the popes themselves made use of the partly-preserved monuments for their own buildings. More especially had that most energetic of all the papal builders, Nicholas V., remorselessly destroyed several remnants of antiquity for his own ends. He carried off blocks of travertine and marble from the Colosseum, removing more than 2300 waggon-loads in a single year. He took materials from the so-called Temple of Peace, from the Circus Maximus, from Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome beside the Arch of Titus, from the Forum, from constructions outside the Porta Viridaria, and we have grounds for believing that it was he who caused the destruction of the wall of Servius Tullius at the foot of the Aventine. Of this, the oldest monument of the city, only a tiny fragment remains to present times.² Thus the most

¹ *Obscene in dies ad albam tenuemque convertunt cinerem, ut eorum nulla brevi tempore species posteris apparebit. Cyriaci Itinerar.*, ed. Mehus, p. 21.

² I found notices concerning it in the Spese di Palazzo of 1453 (in the State Archives in Rome). Therein: *A Antonio che rompe le pietre a Monte Aventino . . . per carette 325 di pietre . . . flor. XII. A Mo Pietro . . . per parte del travertino chava a Templum Pacis.—A Damiano . . . per una vigna fuori la porta viridaria dove abiamo fatto chavare le pietre.* In the account books of this time we often find the heading *Cava de Prete (pietre)* near the Colosseum, beside S. Maria Nuova, and near S. Cosma and Damiano. These and later notices are collected by Eugène Müntz in his works *Les Monuments antiques de Rome au XV. siècle*, Paris, 1846 and 1884 (*Rev. archéologique*), and *Les arts à la cour des Papes pendant le XV. et le XVI. siècles*, Paris, 1878-1882. In the time of Alexander VI.

cultured of all popes was the worst destroyer of ancient Rome. The daily sight of the destruction of monuments in order to obtain lime embittered the life of Blondus in Rome. Gianantonio Campano, the court poet of Pius II., regrets that he had seen Rome, since the sight of the ruined and in many parts utterly destroyed city and of her antiquities trodden in the dust drew tears from his eyes.¹ A like lament is expressed by Aeneas Sylvius in the lines :

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas,
Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
Impia tercentum si sic gens egeris annos,
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

As Pope this same Piccolomini, at the representations of the Roman citizens, issued, on April 28, 1462, a bull for the protection of the monuments. It was proclaimed on the Capitol. In it we seem to hear the language of the noble emperor Majorian. It threatens with punishment anyone guilty of injury to the monuments, or of using them for lime. Similar laws were made by the civic magistrates.²

leases were formally given for the sack of the monuments. A. Bertolotti, *artisti Lombardi a Roma, nei sec. 15, 16, e 17*. Milano, 1881, i. p. 33.

¹ *Urbs magna ex parte diruta, multisque in locis funditus deleta, vim mihi lachrimarum excussit. quadrati enim lapides antiquis litteris incisi jacentes ubique conculcantur*, etc., Ep. i. 7, *ad Matt. Ubaldum*. Thus says also L. B. Alberti (*De re aedif.*, x. 1) *interdum nequeo non stomachari cum videam—ea deleri, quibus barbarus et furens hostis—pepercisset*.

² Bull, Rome, *IV. Kal. Maji A.D 1462*: *Cum aliam nostram urbem*—in the Appendix to the Statutes of Rome of 1580. There

All was of no avail. For Pius himself showed no respect to his own bull, and Jovius could accuse Paul II. of employing blocks of stone from the Colosseum in building the palace of S. Marco. Sixtus IV. ordered the Circular Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium to be pulled down.¹ In order to procure stone for cannon balls, this pope utilised blocks of travertine from the Marmorata, and on the same occasion (July 1484), the so-called bridge of Horatius Cocles on the Ripa Grande was destroyed.² More unscrupulously than his predecessors, he attacked the Colosseum in order, with the blocks which he there obtained, to lay the foundations of the bridge which bears his name. The heart of a patriot, the poet Faustus Magdalenus of the family of Capo di Ferro, was roused by this act of vandalism, and his angry epigrams prove beyond a doubt the fact that this work of destruction was committed by Sixtus.³ If Sixtus ordered restorations of the

Destruction of the Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium.

also the edict of Sixtus IV., *VII. Id. April A.D. 1474*. See in the Statutes the article *de antiquis aedificiis non diruendis*.

¹ *Albertini de mem. Urbis*, A.D. 1515, p. 47. Other information in *De Rossi L'ara massima ed il tempio di Ercole nel foro boario*, Rome, 1854. Some of its sculptures wandered as far as Padua: the *Notizia d'opere di disegno* from the first half of *saec. XVI.* (ed. J. Morelli, Bassano, 1800) notices in the house of Leonico Tomeo (in the time of Sixtus IV.) a relief of *Ercole con la Virtù e voluttà*, and says *è opera antica tolta in Roma da un tempio d'Ercole*.

² *Infessura*, p. 1178.

³ *Quis tibi Caesareum suasit furor Amphitheatrum
Vilior Illyrico vertere Sixte solo?
Scilicet ut parvi starent fundamenta pontis
Ampla tuae quatiunt amphitheatra manus?
Quae neque vis coeli, neque fulmine Juppiter ullo
Obruit, et fuerant relligiosa deis,*

Tabularium, where the Salt Magazine was situated, it is scarcely probable that they were made for the sake of the preservation of the monument. He ordered the round Temple of Vesta beside the Tiber to be restored because it served as a church.¹ He allowed the architects of his Vatican library to make use of ancient marbles, and Innocent VIII. conceded the like permission in the case of his buildings.² Alexander VI. formally leased as quarries the Forum, the Colosseum, and other monuments to the Roman builders, for the third of the produce.³

Awakening
of a feeling
for an-
tiquities.

Meanwhile a reverence for the ancient ruins was awakened among the educated. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century some cardinals

*Aequat humi Lygurum natus, pro Juppiter, arvis,
Sustinet et tantum Martia Roma nefas!*

Cod. Vat. 3351, p. 76. This Codex contains the autograph of the *Carmina et adversaria Fausti Magdaleni Ci. Ro.* I am indebted to Signor Constantino Corvisieri for the reference to the couplets.

¹ Albertini, p. 45; and an inscription on the pavement of that Church (*S. Maria del Sole*).

² Brief, December 17, 1471; Zahn in the *Bullet. dell' Ist. di corresp. arch.*, September 1867, n. ix. Eugenius IX. had already given permission for marble to be taken for buildings at the Vatican *de muris antiquis existentib. in loco ubi fuit Secca antiqua.* (Rome, October 10, 1431.) Amati, *notizie di alcuni manosc. dell' Arch. secret. Vat.*, p. 212. A pile of ruins beside S. Adriano on the Forum was called *Zecca antiqua* (De Rossi, *Le prime raccolte*, . . . p. 44). And this is the first mention of these destructive excavations in the ancient Forum: Or. Marucchi, *Descriz. del Foro Romano*, 1883, p. 9 f. The *Via Appia* suffered the same fate. *Operarii quidam fundamenta sepulcrorum ad inquirenda marmora in Via Appia eradentes* discovered the body of the maiden of ancient days there in 1485. Letter of Bartol. Fontius, of whom we shall hear further.

³ Eugène Müntz, *Les monum. antiques de Rome au XV. siècle*, Paris, 1876, p. 18.

encouraged the study of antiquity. Blondus relates of Cardinal Prospero Colonna that he caused the so-called garden of Maecenas, where the tower of Nero stood, to be cleaned and improved, and had a part of the way to his own palace beside it paved with coloured marble.¹ Almost simultaneously with the passion for manuscripts awoke the taste for collecting sculpture, coins and gems. Poggio possessed a collection of antiquities in his country house in the Val d'Arno. He had acquired them mainly in Rome, but had also made researches in Greece. He commissioned a Minorite to bring him busts of Minerva, Juno and Bacchus, and everything of the kind which he could find from Chios, where it was asserted that nearly one hundred statues had been discovered in a cave. The Philistines of that age censured this taste as pagan, but Poggio justified it by quoting the example of Cicero, for whose Academy Atticus had provided statues.²

Poggio
founds a
collection
of an-
tiquities.

Nicoli formed similar collections; the Medici and Ruccellai owned cabinets of antiquities. They laid Greece under contribution, but had their antiquaries in Rome also. For from remote times the traffic in manuscripts, relics and antiquities had been eagerly pursued here. Not until after Eugenius IV. did the popes forbid the dispersion of works of ancient art. They failed however to attain their object.³ The Veronese Giovanni Jocundus

Collections
of Nicoli
and of the
Medici,

¹ Roma, *Restaur.*, i. 100. The tower of Nero was the remains of Aurelian's ancient Temple of the Sun, *il Frontispizio di Nerone*.

² Poggii, Ep. 18, 19, Append., *Hist. de Variet.*

³ Mehus, *Praef. in Ambros. Camald.*, p. 51.—Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 285.

collected manuscripts in Rome for Lorenzo Medici, and on this occasion drew the gloomiest picture of the destruction of the city, where the citizens even boasted that the foundations of their houses were made of fragments of statues.¹

of Cyriac
of Ancona.

Cyriac collected statues and coins during his travels in Greece. In 1432 he showed Traversari at Bologna gold and silver coins bearing the portraits of Lysimachus, Philip and Alexander, and a magnificent onyx with the head of the younger Scipio.² Traversari had formerly received as a gift from Stephen Porcaro a beautifully-cut onyx, and given it to Eugenius IV. The same prior of Camaldolesi saw with admiration at Venice a gold coin of Berenice, of which he took an impression in lead, and he found among the nobles there numerous collections of coins, the first cabinets of the kind in Europe.³ Paul II. brought with him to Rome the same Venetian hobby as Eugenius IV.; even as cardinal he had formed a collection of artistic treasures, antiquities and statues.⁴ He was an enthusiast, not for antiquity but for antiquities. Of the two magnificent columns

Paul II. as
collector of
antiquities.

¹ *Sunt qui affirmant magnos se calcis cumulos ex solis epigrammatum fragmentis vidisse congestos. Nec desunt qui gloriantur totius suae et latae quidem domus fundamenta ex solis statuarum membris jacta esse.* Laurentio M. Fr. Jo. Jocundus, in *Fabroni Vita Laur. Med. Annot.*, 146.

² *Ambros. Camald.*, Ep. viii. 35.

³ Ep. viii. 48.

⁴ *Quippe qui et statuas veterum undique ex tota urbe conquisitas in suas illas aedes quas sub capitolio extruebat congereret.* Platina, *vita Pauli II.*

in S. Peter's, he said that they were worth more than the whole city of Venice.¹ No one possessed a like knowledge of ancient gems, stones and coins. His museum in the palace of S. Marco was the first and most extensive of the kind. He here collected treasures of Greek, Roman and even Byzantine art, with which Italy had been flooded ever since the fall of Constantinople. He spent entire days in the contemplation of his treasures.² Nothing escaped his penetrating glance; he caused the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia, which now stands in the Vatican museum, to be brought for the adornment of his palace.³ He encouraged the Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga to form similar collections.

Sixtus IV. continued the activity of his predecessor Paul; and under him we find the earliest undoubted traces of a museum on the Capitol. In 1471 he had caused ancient bronze statues to be placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, as we are still informed by an inscription of the time.⁴ It is possible that Paul II., who employed every means to procure antiquities for his collection, may have

¹ Albertini, *de mirabil. Urbis*, xli.

² *Igitur præter necessarias auditiones dies totas aut voluptati, aut numis pensitandis, aut veterum numismatis, sive gemmis, sive imaginibus spectandis tradebat*: Raph. Volaterranus, *Anthrop.*, xxi. 518.

³ There exists a remarkable catalogue of this museum of the year 1457, which is given in Müntz's valuable book.

⁴ *Sixtus IV. P. M. Ob Immensam Benignit. Aeneas Insignes Statuas Priscæ Excell. Virtutisq. Monumentum Romano Pop. Unde Exorte Fuere Restituendas Condonandasque Censuit. Latino De Ursinis Card. Camerario Administrante Et Joh. Alperino. Phil. Paloscio. Nicolao Pinciaronio Urbis Conservatorib. Procurantib. A. Sal. Nostre MCCCCLXXI. XVIII. K7. Januar.*

carried off these bronzes, or taken them from other places over which the city held rights, and that Sixtus only restored them to the Roman people.¹

The
Museum
on the
Capitol.

Here already was the renowned statue of the Stadiodromo, who is taking a thorn from his foot, one of the most beautiful bronzes of antiquity.² The group of the She-Wolf had stood since ancient times in the Lateran. Sixtus IV. ordered it to be removed to the Capitol.³ The lion attacking a horse, now on the west wall of the courtyard of the Capitol, stood opposite the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; in the Vestibule were seen the colossal bronze hand with the globe; some

¹ Can we thus interpret the word *restituendas*? From *unde exorte* the copyists made *extorte*; the inscription, however, says *exorte*.—I merely suggest a hypothesis, which Herr Müntz does not accept.

² That it was in the Capitol we are told by a barbarous poem, *Antiquarie prospettiche Romane composte per Prospettivo Melanese depictore*, printed at the end of *saec. XV.* and very rare. A copy in the MS. of Schedel (who died in 1510) is in the Munich library. It describes the "boy extracting the thorn from his foot." The statue of a "gipsy girl" is noticed as especially beautiful. This bronze *Zingara* was also seen by Gamucci in the Capitol, *Antich. Roman.*, i. 21. This was the name apparently given to the Camillus or sacrificial attendant. Gilberto Govi has re-edited the *Ant. prosp.*, Rome, 1876. In 1513 Andrea Fulvio described the contents of the Capitoline Museum in the *Antiquaria urbis*, Rome, 1513. E. Müntz, "Le Musée du capitol et les autres collections romaines," *Rev. archéol.*, Janv. 1882.

³ 1471. 3 Nov. *Mag. cam almae urbis conservatoribus florenos auri de camera centum, exponendos per ipsos in fabrica loci in quo statuenda est apud eorum palacium luppa aenea quas hactenus erat apud s. Johannem lateranensem.* In Müntz. It is probably merely accidental that Prospettivo does not mention the *Lupa*; it stood as early as the time of Julius II. in the Capitol, where it is mentioned by Albertini.

heads or busts of emperors, several other fragments, and the cinerary urn of Agrippina, which had been used as a measure for corn in the time of the Banderesi.¹ Sixtus IV. added to the Museum the bronze Hercules from the Forum Boarium, a statue which still remains in the Capitol. It had been disinterred and brought to the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the destruction of the round temple.² For the Conservator possessed a right over the antiquities which were discovered in the district of the Capitol and perhaps also over those found elsewhere in the city. In the time of Innocent VIII. was brought the colossal head of Domitian, which we now see in the courtyard, and which had been discovered in the ruins of the basilica of Maxentius. Sixtus IV. also caused the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius in front of the Lateran to be restored. The work of restoration had already been performed, although insufficiently, by Paul II. in 1467.³ The fact that Matteo

¹ Prospettivo :

*Un tozzo dun caval perso nel ventre
dun leon chen ha da lui letitia.*

Flam. Vacca. Mem., n. 70, who says that this group was found in the river Almo under Paul III., is consequently mistaken. In 1523 Venetian orators saw in the Capitol the *Lupa*, the *villano di bronzo che si cava uno spino da un piede*, and in the palace of the Senator numerous *figure marmoree e di bronzo*: Relazioni, etc., in Albérì, ii. iii. 108.

² *Syxtus IV. P. M. regnante aeneum Herculis simulachrum in ruinis Herculis Victoris fori boarii effossum conservatores in monumentum gloriae romanae heic locandum curarunt*: Albertini, p. 86.

³ The inscription on the base says: *Syxtus IV. P. M. equum hunc aeneum vetustate quassatum collabentem eum assessore*

Toscano, the senator of Rome, ordered the restoration of the statue of Charles of Anjou on the Capitol, is merely an evidence of the feeling—awakened by the popes themselves—for the monuments of history.¹

The love for antiquities gradually became a passion. The antiques which were discovered aroused the same enthusiasm as the manuscripts; nay, frequently an even greater, being, as they were, the direct witnesses of the Roman world which had passed away. We must live in Rome in order to understand this enthusiasm. If the finding of a statue, such as that of the bronze Hercules which we saw arise from the débris of Pompey's theatre in 1864, or the discovery of an ancient Roman painting on the Palatine, or the excavation of the marble remains on the ancient emporium throws the whole educated world of Rome into commotion in our own days, imagine the effect of such discoveries in the fifteenth century, among a race which was utterly intoxicated with the recently-awakened spirit of antiquity. On April 14, 1485, a marble sarcophagus was dug up on the Via Appia, in which was the body of a maiden. The city was filled with excitement; it was said that an inscription called this maiden of ancient Rome Julia; the girl was of marvellous beauty, her face and body were in perfect preservation. *Albertyni*, p. 62. Not until 1536 was the statue of Marcus Aurelius placed on the Capitol.

Discovery of the body of a girl of ancient Rome, on the Via Appia.

¹ *Vita Sixti IV.*, Mur., iii. ii. 1064. The now lost inscription of this senator, of the year 1481, is quoted in vol. v. of this history, p. 651. The statue was removed from the Hall of the Senator in 1879, and placed on the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

tion, her limbs still flexible. The sarcophagus was brought to the Palazzo dei Conservatori, where thousands immediately hastened to gaze on the dead lady, whom people began to call the daughter of Cicero. With greater reverence the Romans forbore to convey to their city the body of S. Monica, the mother of Augustine, which had been discovered at Ostia in the time of Eugenius. Innocent VIII. was terrified by the enthusiastic worship paid to a dead pagan; he ordered the mummy to be buried at night outside the Porta Pinciana, and only the sarcophagus was left in the courtyard of the Conservatori.¹

A like antiquarian enthusiasm prevailed in the other cities of Italy. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century the Paduans asserted that they had discovered the body of Livy in the church of S. Justina. They exhibited the supposed remains of their great fellow-citizen like a palladium over the portal of their communal palace, and to the

¹ Infessura, p. 1192. *Notajo di Nantiportu*, p. 1094. Matarazzo, ii. 180, and in the Munich Codex of Schedel. Letter of a Veronese from Rome to Venice: *Bibl. Marciana Cl. XIV. Cod. CCLXVIII.* Twenty thousand men are said to have streamed out of the Porta Appia. The man writes just like a lover *se havessi veduto questo viso saresti—inamorato*. The body was covered as with a mask *cum una scorsa de pasta grossa uno doto dal corpo infino ali piedi*. Sigismondo de' Conti, *Hist.*, ix. 44, gives a similar description; but he says that the body fell to pieces when exposed to the air and then *reconditum est in eod. loco Tulliolas M. Tullii Ciceronis, qui monumenta suae gentis in Via Appia fuisse testatur*.—Letter of Bartholomew Fontius to Franc. Savettus, Rome, April 17, 1485. See H. Janitschek, *Die Gesellsch. der Renaiss. in Italien und die Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1879, at the end.

minds of enlightened men these relics bestowed greater honour on the city than did the body of S. Antonio.¹

Excava-
tions in
Ostia.

Although search was made for antiquities, excavations were not yet prosecuted according to any system. Already in the beginning of the fifteenth century Brunelleschi and Donatello dug to the very foundations of houses in Rome, in order to take their measurements; in so doing they came on antiquities, and one day discovered a vase filled with coins.² Wherever excavations were made in Ostia or the island of the Tiber, statues and great columns were brought to light; how lavishly therefore would not a systematic excavation have been rewarded!³ Ostia was already an inexhaustible mine of antiquities where, according to the testimony of Blondus, no remains of ancient buildings any longer existed, and the tower on the Tiber erected by Martin V. stood in melancholy solitude. In 1488 the multitude of statues, sarcophagi, mosaics and ruins aroused the surprise of a Florentine. He wrote to Lorenzo Medici concerning them and sent him antiquities. In making excavations beside the walls of Ostia a boat with bronze nails was discovered.⁴ Several cardinals furnished their palaces with statues brought from Ostia. The wealth of antiquities attracted agents of foreign collectors in Venice and Florence,

¹ Blondus, *Ital. Ill.*, 185.

² Vasari, *Vita di Brunelleschi*, iii. 202.

³ *Ubiunque effoderis, marmora invenies, et statuas, et columnas ingentis magnitudinis. Pis II. Comment.*, lib. xi. p. 302.

⁴ Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 298.

and Sixtus IV. consequently forbade the castellan of the place to allow the removal of ancient marbles.¹ On the site of Portus (at this time a marshy island) Blondus beheld amid the brushwood as many huge blocks of marble as would have served to build an entire city. On these blocks, which had been supplied by the state quarries in imperial times, he observed marks which stated the name of the quarry, the weight and the number of the blocks. He made these observations in 1451, little imagining that four hundred and fifteen years later the astonishment of the entire world would be aroused by the discovery of innumerable blocks of marble in the harbour of the Tiber in Rome itself.²

Marble
discovered
at Portus.

More unique were the researches made by Prospero Colonna in the Lake of Nemi, from which he recovered the so-called ship of Tiberius. The Cardinal, hereditary lord of Nemi and Genzano, heard from the inhabitants of these places that curious remains of vessels were occasionally found in the Lake; he brought Genoese divers and ordered Alberti to construct a machine to serve as an elevator. When the remains of the boat were thus raised, the Roman court hurried to Nemi, and Blondus explained the relics to be those of the floating Villa of Tiberius.³

The boat
of Tiberius
on the Lake
of Nemi.

¹ *Tam in signis et ymaginib., quam in coliduis atq. quacumq. forma.* Zahn, *Bullet.*, September 1867, n. ix., of August 11, 1471.

² *Ital. Illustr.*, 79. It follows that a store of marble from the imperial quarries existed there.

³ *Ital. Illustr.*, 110. Nibby Analisi, article "Nemi," believes that the remains belonged to the foundations of a villa of Caesar. They would now probably be explained as lake dwellings. [See the

Antiquities
collected
in Roman
palaces.

With the enthusiasm of an antiquary of present times, Pius II. scoured the ruin-bedecked Campagna. He traversed the Via Appia, whose monuments still survived in great numbers. He explored the Hippodrome with the broken obelisk, which he ordered to be laid clear; he inspected the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the ruinous villas, the aqueducts; but nowhere do we hear that he instituted excavations. More and more antiquities came to light; the palaces of nobles and the houses of antiquaries were adorned with them. The house of Pomponius Laetus on the Quirinal was a museum of antiquities and inscriptions, and at the end of the century of the Renaissance there was scarcely a palace of any importance in the city devoid of such ornament. The fact that people began to catalogue the chief antiquities in the palaces was a further proof of the progress of the times. The first to set the example was Prospettivo Dipintore, a Milanese. Among the antiquities in the Palazzo Valle he notes two Fauns; in that of Cardinal Piccolomini, the future Pius III., a Nymph and the Three Graces, which, discovered in the Palazzo Colonna under the Quirinal, came into possession of the nephew of Pius II., long remained in the library of the cathedral of Siena and are now shown in the museum of that city¹; also a Faun in the Casa Branca; in the Palazzo Riario a beautiful report of similar discoveries in *Notiz. dei Lincei*, October and November 1895.—TRANSL.]

¹ *Antiquarie prospettiche*. At the time of Julius II. Albertini observed in the Palazzo Valle an *orologium et menses duodecim in lapide marmoreo cum signis zodiaci et festis deorum sculptum*, but I do not know whether it belonged to the sun-dial of Augustus.

Minerva; a child riding a goose in the garden of Cardinal Savelli. He found antiquities besides in the Caffarelli, Frangipani, Massimi, Mellini and Maffei palaces; and an incredible number of ancient inscriptions in the Casa Porcaro. Even after the death of Stephen, the Porcari still cultivated the patriotic muses. Their palace in the neighbourhood of the Minerva was filled with antiquities. The inscriptions which they collected here now form a valuable part of the Clementine museum in the Vatican; since Prince Andrea Doria, who became the heir to the house of Porcaro, presented the collection to Clement XIV.¹

At the end of the century the Apollo Belvedere rose from his grave at Antium. In the times of deepest moral darkness under Alexander VI. the God of poetry and light reappeared to mankind, which, now that it had breathed new life into the classic Muses, and was about to set up the ideal of beauty on the summit of art, had become worthy to look upon his face. Cardinal Julian bought the Apollo from its discoverers, and placed it in his palace near SS. Apostoli, whence he had this magnificent work of art brought to the Vatican as soon as he became Pope.

The Apollo
Belvedere.

¹ Preface of Amaduzzi to the elegy addressed by Paul Porcius to the Neapolitan orator Anellus, *Anecd. Litt. ex MSS. Cod. eruta*, Romae, 1783, i. Gruter has noted many inscriptions as coming from the Palazzo Porcari. The collections of antiquities in the palaces of Monsignor Rossi, and the Orsini, Cesarini and Massimi in the beginning of the *XVI. saec.* were described by Claude Bellièvre of Lyons in his "Noctes Romanae," communicated by Eug. Müntz in *Le Musée du Capitole* from the MS. in the *Bibl. Nationale*.

4. COLLECTORS OF INSCRIPTIONS—DONDI—SIGNORILI—CYRIAC—POGGIO—PETER SABINUS—LAURENCE BEHAIM—FLAVIUS BLONDUS, FOUNDER OF ARCHAEOLOGY—POMPONIUS LAETUS—THE ROMAN ACADEMY—ACTION BROUGHT AGAINST IT UNDER PAUL II.—FILIPPO BUONACCORSI—POMPONIUS AND PLATINA—ACTIVITY OF POMPONIUS—ANNIUS OF VITERBO, A FORGER OF MSS.—THE FIRST GERMAN HUMANISTS IN ROME—CUSA—PEUERBACH AND REGIOMONTANUS—JOHN WESSEL—GABRIEL BIEL—JOHN OF DALBERG—AGRICOLA, RUDOLF LANGE—HERMANN BUSCH—CONRAD CELTES—REUCHLIN.

Collectors
of inscrip-
tions.

Side by side with the passion for forming collections, the science of archaeology made gradual advance. Copies were made of inscriptions, for which even Petrarch had not possessed the slightest intelligence. These inscriptions had first been collected by Cola di Rienzo, then by Dondi (about 1375),¹ and afterwards by Signorili, secretary to the senate in the time of Martin V. To a compilation of the laws of Rome, Signorili added a short description of the city, the actual author of which was probably the Tribune of the People. These labours were afterwards continued by a remarkable man, Cyriac dei Pizzicolli of Ancona. Originally sprung from the merchant class, he had been seized with such enthusiasm for antiquity, that not satisfied like the Italian Humanists with the monuments of Rome, he formed the ambitious design of investigating those of the remotest territories of the ancient

¹ Concerning this, see Henzen in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* VI., p. xxvii.

world. This he did with an enthusiasm not inferior to that of the earliest discoverers of classic manuscripts. Cyriac had not been educated in any learned school; he was however endowed with a quick and receptive intellect, and with at least sufficient culture to form a secure foundation on which to base his discoveries. No traveller from the west had hitherto been instigated by such a desire, nor had any seen so many and such diverse monuments of the past in an age when these monuments were in a better state of preservation than a century later. The first traveller impelled by antiquarian zeal came to Rome in 1424, where dwelt his patron Cardinal Condulmer, the future Eugenius IV. He wandered through the whole of the classic world, visited Hellas and the islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Asia Minor, even Egypt, where he was the first to gaze on the wonders of the Pharaohs with the eyes of an archaeologist. Everywhere he made drawings of monuments, collected codices and antiquities and copied inscriptions. The result of his labours was a vast accumulation of notes and sketches,¹ only fragments of which have been preserved, and a collection of inscriptions,

¹ The copies made by Giuliano da S. Gallo of drawings of Greek monuments after Cyriac's sketch-book are preserved in the Barberiniana in Rome. L. Rosz, *Hellenika*, i. i. 72. De Rossi recognised a fragment of the Greek sketch book, from which drawings had reached Dürer's hands, in the Munich MS. of Schedel.—O. Jahn, *Populäre Aufsätze aus d. Altertumswiss.*, p. 344 f. [See further: E. Jacobs, "Die Thasiaca des Cyriacus von Ancona," *im Cod. Vat.* 5250; "Mitth. des k. d. arch. Inst.," *Athen. Abth.*, xxii. p. 113; and E. Ziebarth, "Cyriaci Anconitani inscr. graec. vel ined. vel emend.," *ibid.*, p. 405.—TRANSL.]

which have been transcribed into other compilations. Cyriac died at Cremona about the year 1455.¹

Independently of Cyriac, Poggio formed a collection of inscriptions.² He it was who discovered at S. Gall the celebrated compilation of ancient inscriptions made by the Anonymous of Einsiedeln and brought them secretly to Rome. He thus became the true founder of epigraphy. He investigated the monuments of the city as well as the Campagna.³ Christian inscriptions were also beginning to be copied. This had already been done by Signorili, Traversari, and Maffeo Vegio. In the time of Alexander VI., Peter Sabinus, professor of eloquence in Rome, collected several Christian inscriptions, and Laurence Behaim, Curiale to the same Borgia before his elevation to the Papacy, made an epigraphic collection, in which he admitted such inscriptions as Alexander had placed in S. Angelo to commemorate the invasion of

¹ Franc. Scalamontius, *Vita Kyriaci Anconitani* (Colucci, *Delle antichità Picene XV.*, 50 f. Introduction by Mehus to the *Itinerarium Kyriaci*; Tiraboschi, vi. i. 158. Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, i. p. 2, 685. Concerning his sojourn in Athens, Curt Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altert.*, i. 58. For his travels and his collection of inscriptions, Mommsen, *Corp. Inscr. Lat. III.*, p. xxii f. Henzen, vi. i. p. xl f. De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. U. Romae*, vol. ii., pars. i. 356 f.

² He makes Loschi himself give him credit for this: *De Varietate*, p. 9. The autograph copy of Poggio's inscriptions has been lost, but De Rossi discovered a copy: *Le prime Raccolte d'antiche Iscrizioni*, Rome, 1852.

³ He gives a humorous account of his own efforts; see his copy of the "Testament" in Ferentino. Poggii, Ep. iii. n. 19, 20.

Charles VIII.¹ At the end of the fifteenth century a Roman, Giovanni Capocci, also made a collection of the Christian inscriptions in the city.²

We have already observed that Poggio was the first to survey the antiquities of Rome with the eye of a critic, and that he made a brief catalogue of the existing monuments about 1431. Henceforward the study of the ruins lost the character that had belonged to it in the *Mirabilia*, a work which was, however, several times reprinted.³ A demand arose for a description of the ruins based on classic authors, and the requirement was met by Blondus Flavius, the honoured founder of the science of archaeology.

He was born at Forlì in 1388. Remarkable for his learning even in his youth, he long dwelt at Milan, perhaps also at Bergamo as secretary to the learned Francesco Barbaro, Podestà of that city,

¹ Behaim's collection is incorporated in the Munich Codex of Hartmann Schedel. Concerning the history of Roman epigraphy, see the résumé of Henzen in *Corp. Inscr. Lat. VI.*, p. i, and De Rossi's vol. ii. of the *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Romae*.

² It was preserved in MS. in the *Bibl. Albani*, and with other treasures of the same library, which had been acquired by the Prussian Government, perished in a shipwreck in our own times. Forcella, Introd. to vol. i. of the *Iscrizioni della chiesa di Roma*, Roma, 1869.

³ Likewise the *Indulgentiae Romae*, of which there is a Roman printed edition of 1475. German translations were also published; the first, in the Munich Library, seems to be of the year 1472. Then other editions in Munich in 1481 and 1482. A German edition in Rome itself: *Getrucket zu Rom durch Johannem Besicken und Sigismundum Mayr: in dem jar als man zelt MCCCC. und XCIII. zu der Zyt des papsts Alexanders des VI. In sinem zweyden jar.* With coloured woodcuts of pictures of saints.

who was friendly towards the scholar and introduced him to Eugenius IV. The Pope invited him to Rome, and from 1432 Blondus acted as secretary and diplomatic agent to Eugenius. He accompanied the Pope in his exile, was his secretary at Ferrara and Florence, and returned to Rome with him; but in 1450, neglected by Nicholas V. on account of his ignorance of Greek, he left the city to seek his fortune elsewhere.¹ He appears also to have been slandered by his enemies. He returned however in 1453, presented the Pope with his *Italia Illustrata*, and was more kindly treated.² Blondus dwelt, an ornament to the city, in honourable poverty; his indigence however did not prevent him bringing up his five sons as worthy citizens. Far removed from the mode of life of the Humanists, he presented the finest example of the learning of his time. His house stood on the Via Flaminia beside Monte Citorio.³ Calixtus III. held him in high esteem, so also did Pius II., whom he accompanied to Mantua. He died at a good old age on June 4, 1463, and was buried on the platform of the lofty staircase leading to Aracoeli, where his sons placed a tablet to his memory.⁴

¹ We have no critical biography of Blondus; but the essay of Alfr. Masius, *Flavio Biondo, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1879, forms a valuable basis for one. Also the notice by A. Wilmann, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1879, p. 1489 f.

² Blondus to Fr. Barbaro, Ep. Barb., n. 214. He himself says that he wrote his *Italia Illustrata* four years after his *Roma Instaurata* (1447) in Monte Scutolo. *Ital.*, iii. 133.

³ *Roma Instaur.*, iii. 37.

⁴ *Blondo Flavio Forlivensi Historico Celebri Multor. Pont. Rom. Secretario Fidelissimo Blondi V. Patri Bene merenti Unanimes*

Blondus was essentially a historian, for his *History of Italy* is his chief work. But his antiquarian writings were also valuable as opening up a new path of knowledge. With greater thoroughness than any one before him, he occupied himself with the study of antiquity. The fruit of his labour was his *Roma Instaurata*, a not very comprehensive book, which he presented to Eugenius IV. in 1446.¹ Devoid of plan, unassuming even to timidity, without a trace of the involved pedantry of later archaeologists, it is the first attempt at a topographical description of the city of Rome, and of the scientific restoration of her monuments. Blondus was the first to turn Frontinus and the regionaries to account, and his classical learning was for his time exhaustive. The progress made by him in the actual science is truly marvellous.

His book is moreover filled with notices concerning the condition of Rome in his own time. He had also a sense of the greatness of the Christian city. At the close of his work he says reproachfully: "I am not of the opinion of those who utterly despise the present of the city, as if all that was memorable had vanished with the legions and consuls, the Senate and the ornaments of the Capitol and Palatine; for the glory and majesty of Rome stand on a sure footing and are planted

Posuere. Vixit Annis LXXV. Obiit P. Die Nonas Junii A. Sal. Christ. MCCCCLXIII. Pio P. M. Sibi Studiisque Favente. In Forcella, i. 141.

¹ First printed with the *Italia Ill., Romae in domo nob. v. Johis de Lignamine*, 1474, December 5; then Verona, 1482; Basle, Froben, 1513. Translated into Italian by Lucio Fanno, Venice, 1543.

on firm soil." He then enumerates the Christian sanctuaries of the city, and here alone reappears a characteristic of the *Mirabilia*. For the rest Blondus does not appear to have devoted any study to Christian archaeology; his contemporary Maffeo Vegio however compiled a description of S. Peter's. This, the first work of the kind since Mallius, is the more valuable from the fact that the ancient cathedral soon afterwards disappeared.¹

*Italia
Illustrata.*

For King Alfonso Blondus undertook the *Italia Illustrata*, a description of Italy in fourteen regions leaving out South Italy and Sicily, and a national work, the first predecessor of that of Cluver. Blondus here gives an accurate list of the cities, with investigations concerning their antiquity, and even with references to their more recent history. He rarely enters into descriptions, is but seldom impressed by the beauty of the landscape; the lavishness of Nature alone, for instance the wealth of the orchards of Verona, seems to appeal to him. In speaking of places he never omits to name their celebrated men, and to say concerning princes, whether or not they possessed the highest title of honour, that of *litterati*.

*Roma Tri-
umphans.*

To Pius II. Blondus dedicated his last work, the *Roma Triumphans*, in which he also treads a new path, treating of the political institutions, religion and customs of the ancient Romans. This first handbook to Roman antiquity, as it has fitly been

¹ *Maffei Vegii Laudensis de Reb. antiquis memorabilib. Basilicae S. Petri Romae*, in *Acta Sanctor. VII. Junii*, pp. 61-85; and in Janning, *Commentar. de Basil. S. Petri antiqua*.

called, presupposes in truth a long course of study.¹ The worthy man understood the value of his achievements. He calmly expresses the opinion that Italy had been graced by his native territory—the Romagna—not only in the grammarian John of Ravenna and Count Alberigo of Cuneo, but also in himself. “For I,” said he, “have written the history of more than one thousand years, not only of Italy, but of the Roman Empire clearly and completely, and moreover have restored Rome and illustrated Italy, which lay covered in gross darkness and error.”²

The activity of Blondus was continued by Pomponius Laetus, a Calabrese and a bastard of the Sanseverino family. He had been christened Julius, and his other names were merely academical.³ He came to Rome in his youth, and was first Valla’s pupil and then his successor in the chair of Eloquence. Paolo Cortese said that he devoted unwearied study to the Latin language. He lived solely for learning, and was to be seen at dawn, lantern in hand, ill-clad and wearing buskins, on his way to the lecture hall which could not contain his audience. To a small and insignificant figure he added a rough and taciturn manner. He dwelt in proud indigence, a despiser of princely favour, and avoided all knowledge of his distinguished relations. In Pomponius a modern personality was so imbued

¹ This is said by Blondus himself. See the dedication to Pius II.

² *Italia Illustrata*, 144.

³ Sigismondo de’ Conti, *Histor. sui temporis*, calls him *Pomponius Fortunatus*.

with the spirit of antiquity that in him Cato seemed to have arisen again. Blondus was not utterly immersed in classicism, but Pomponius was entirely steeped in Paganism. Like a spectre of the ancients he was seen haunting their tombs; the sight of an antique monument could move him to tears. His knowledge of Rome was greater than that of almost any antiquary after him.

His house on the Quirinal became the meeting place of pupils and friends whom he united into the first Roman Academy. They adopted the names of antiquity; the Tuscan Buonaccorsi called himself Callimachus Experiens; the Roman Marcus took the name Asklepiades; others those of Glaucus, Volscus, Petreius. Bartolommeo Sacchi from Piadena (hence called Platina) was one of the most celebrated members of the Academy, and Bessarion was its patron. The Academies of the Humanists, which were also imitations of those of antiquity, arose in several cities; thus in Florence the Platonic Academy of the Medici, which assembled in the garden of Bernardo Rucellai, the author of a treatise, remarkable at the time, *de Urbe Romae*¹; in Naples the Academy of Pontanus, in Venice that of Aldus Manutius. The Roman was a society of old and young scholars, who met at the house of Pomponius or that of one of his influential patrons. Discussions were held; treatises were read aloud; Atellan farces or Latin comedies were represented and banquets were given. As the Platonists of the Ancient

The
Roman
Academy.

¹ Printed in *Rer. Ital. Florent.*, 1773, ii. 757. For this work Poggio's studies formed the basis.

Academy had celebrated the birthday of their Master, so the disciples of Pomponius celebrated the birthday of Rome, and this festival of the Palilia is kept to the present day in the Academies of the city.¹ The anniversary of the death of celebrated members was also solemnly commemorated.²

It is worthy of note that this first Roman Academy was the cause of the first papal persecution of the Humanists. Rome was dangerous ground. Liberty in intellectual matters might easily be carried into political life. Valla had directed his criticism against the secular authority of the Pope, and Porcaro too was a Humanist. After the middle of the century, when the first purely intellectual activity of Humanism had come to a close, literary paganism penetrated all the ideas of the time. While it wore a Greek dress in the Florentine Academy, in Rome it assumed an ancient Roman aspect, for the Academy of Pomponius assembled within it a younger generation of Humanists of

¹ This *Natale Romanae urbis a Sodalitate litteraria* was celebrated on the Quirinal for the first time on April 20, 1483. Jacopo Volaterr., *Diar. Rom.*, p. 185. Burkard—Chigi, fol. 390 says: *anniversarius urbis conditae dies est XX. Aprilis, quae consuevit—a doctis urbis celebrari, quod (si recte memini) Pomponius Lactus Poeta Laureatus primus a paucis annis citra introduxit.* The celebration of this festival is called by Raph. Volaterr., *Anthropol.*, xxi. 491, *initium abolendae fidei*.

² See the description of the commemoration service in honour of Platina held in his house on the Quirinal on April 18, 1482. The verses recited there were edited by Demetrius of Lucca, the librarian of the Vatican and orator at the festival. Jacopo Volaterr., p. 171. Concerning the Academy, see Tiraboschi, vi. i. lib. i. n. 23.

national Roman stamp. The master himself was so entirely Roman, that he would not even learn Greek, lest his Latinity might be weakened.¹ Of Christianity there was scarcely a trace among the Academicians. Instead of receiving the names of saints at baptism, they bore pagan names and disputed concerning the immortality of the soul, after the manner of Plato. They held in contempt the dogmas and the hierarchical institutions of the Church, for they belonged to the school of Valla and Poggio. Pomponius and Platina are regarded as denying the truths of Christianity. Pomponius, a deist, believed in the Creator, but as an antiquary also revered the Genius of the City of Rome.² The cult which the enthusiastic priests and disciples of antiquity professed for this Genius led them to the academical caprice of bestowing on their society the forms of an ancient sacerdotal college, or of a classic lodge of free-masons, whose Pontifex Maximus was the great Pomponius, while beside him were others designated with lower grades in the priesthood.³

¹ Note 32 to *P. Cortesii de hominib. doctis*, ed. Galletti.

² *Veneratus est omnium maxime Romanae urbis genium*: Sabellicus, *Ep.*, lib. xi. 460. It is worthy of remark, that among the numerous signatures of those who, after 1477, entered the Confraternity of S. Spirito (as was then the fashion) there is not one of any Humanist—only Celsus Mellini, Jacopo and Raffaele Volaterr. sign themselves as Apostolic Secretaries.

³ De Rossi (*Roma Sotterr.*, i., Introd.) discovered inscriptions of the Academicians in the Catacombs, which they were the first to explore. They recorded their visit there, appending to their names sacerdotal titles, such for example as *Regnante Pomp. Pont. Max. Pantagatus Sacerdos Achademiae Rom.* De Rossi therein sees

The government of Paul II. suspected heresy and political sectarianism; it even feared the existence of a plot for the overthrow of the papal chair or the elevation of another pope. Had not Pomponius in a letter written from Venice to Platina addressed him as *Pater Sanctissimus*?¹ There was talk of a correspondence with the Emperor, thoughts of schism and a council. These enthusiasts for antiquity, who poured libations to the gods of Greece on the Quirinal or the shores of the Tiber, were held guilty of high treason, and for the first time a government trembled before the poetic festivals celebrated by the disciples of learning. The petty-minded conduct of Paul II. with the Academicians recalls the suits brought against the German "Burschenschaft" in the beginning of the nineteenth century; the Pope's attitude however was less ridiculous and more excusable. For under the prosaic Paul II. the Papacy recognised the real dangers with which it was threatened by the reforming tendencies of Humanism.² The gods of Olympus seemed to attack the heaven of Christianity, the Academicians to desire to re-erect the Altar of Victory. Against this paganism the Church consequently undertook the first reaction. She still felt herself insecure in Rome. The city was filled with

the admission of their paganism, which none of their contemporaries suspected. To me it appears to be nothing more than an academical jest.

¹ Platina, *Vita Pauli II.*

² Paul II. himself was without culture; *nec literatura, neque moribus probatus*, says Raff. Volater., *Anthropol.*, xxi. 518. *In suis Consistoriis — et aliis similib. actib. nonnisi vulgari sermone loquebatur*: Paris de Grassis, *Caceremoniale*, v. 20. MS. Chigi.

frivolous youth, while numerous exiles lurked on the frontiers of Naples. In the neighbourhood of Rome, moreover, was discovered the widespread sect of the Fraticelli, which led to a great trial on the part of the Inquisition.¹ Fanatical demagogues belonged to the Academy, and among its adherents were also those Abbreviators whom Paul II. had so seriously offended, that Platina ventured to threaten him with a council. All these hostile elements, paganism, heresy, republicanism appeared to have their centre in the Academy.²

Trial of the
Academicians,
1468.

During the Carnival of 1468 the police imprisoned twenty Academicians. Platina was seized at the table of Cardinal Gonzaga, first brought before the Pope and then taken to S. Angelo. The historian has described the trial with grim humour. With his companions in suffering, among whom were the Romans Quatracci and Capocci, he was even put to the torture : S. Angelo, he said, resounded to the sighs of the sufferers, like the bull of Phalaris in olden days. The terrible state prison was now, as always, filled with unfortunate victims, with heretics from Poli and accused persons of every description. There, too, remained the son of Count Eversus. Some of the accused, however, effected their escape. Filippo Buonaccorsi, who was believed to be the head of a

¹ The *fraticelli de opinione* in Poli and Tivoli were brought to trial in 1466. *Processus contra haereticos de opinione dampnata*, in *Vier Documente aus röm. Archiven. Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. des Protestantismus*. Leipzig, 1843.

² Despatch of Augustin. de Rubeis to the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, February 29, 1468, Rome ; Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste II.*, Appendix, p. 638 f.

conspiracy formed by some exiles, fled to Greece and thence to Poland to King Casimir, with whom he acquired high favour. He died at Cracow on November 1, 1496, after he had acquired celebrity as historian of Hungary and poet. Through him, fresh activity inspired the humanistic intercourse of Bohemia and Poland with Italy, from which about the middle of the fifteenth century John Dlugosz or Longinus, the historian of Poland, had already brought several ancient authors. Pomponius himself was in Venice, but the angry Pope demanded his surrender from the Republic, and caused him to be brought to Rome.¹ He defended himself, Platina tells us, with witty audacity before the tribunal of the Inquisition. These accounts, however, are not quite correct. On the contrary S. Angelo broke the spirit of Pomponius; in prison he composed a letter of defence, in which he exculpates himself from the charge of criminal intercourse with a young Venetian, his pupil, whose beauty he had extolled in verse. Even Socrates, he said, had admired masculine beauty. He had been accused of speaking evil of the Pope; he protested that he had always extravagantly praised his "venerable Numen," especially in Venice, where the god-like actions of Paul II. had been fervently extolled.² He acknowledged that he

Pomponius
Laetus
before the
tribunal
of the
Inquisition.

¹ Thus Platina; Pomponius, however, himself wrote: that if he had been guilty (of pæderasty) he would have been sentenced by the Ten of Venice—*sed quia secus erat huc non invitum, sed volentem miserunt Pontificis tanti misericordiam intrepide subiturum.* MS. Vat. 2934.

² *Pauli venerab. numen ubicunq. me niveni ore laudavi: Venetiis potissimum—ubi ej. divina facinora cumulatissime enarrantur. Præ-*

had trespassed in speech against the clergy, but maintained that he had only done so because his salary had not been paid, and he had been exposed to misery. He threw all the blame on the intrigues of Callimachus, a gossip and a drunkard. He met the charge of want of religion, by explaining that he communicated every Easter, and that he had written distichs on the stations, and discourses and poems on the Virgin, and was also the author of a letter on the Immortality of the Soul. While he acknowledged that he had erred, he appealed to the mercy of the Pope.¹

The trial was interrupted by the arrival of the Emperor, and then eagerly continued. Paul himself frequently came to S. Angelo and interrogated the accused. But the proofs of guilt were not forthcoming; several cardinals, especially Bessarion, interceded with the Pope. Pomponius was set at liberty; Platina, however, was condemned to linger

dicavi de sanctitate misericordia pietate bonitate integritate, ut praedicandum erat de s. Pont. et praesertim eo qui talem se in omni re praestaret. Defensio Pomponii Laeti in carcerib. et Confessio. MS. Vat. 2934, P. I. (4 leaves long).

¹ *Fateor et me errasse peccasse et ideo penas mereri pro censura vestra quae sanctissima est. Tamen ignoscatis, precor, corrigite. Homo sum, cujus licentiosum est peccare et cui literae quandam loquendi potestatem non bonam libertatem attulerunt.—Rursus peto veniam; ad pedes me Pauli Pont. clementissimi esse credatis: qui solita pietate et misericordia omnibus parciit. Ignoscite et per admirab. Christi resurrexistis, ignoscite quaeso. In aetern. valete. Pauli Sec. Majestati et Vicentino et vobis trib. constantissimis et severiss. iudicib. devotus et dedicatiss. Jul. Pompon. Infortunatus gra. tamen vestra fortunatior futurus.* This is the close of the *Defensio*, of which the MS. is a copy.—The three Instructores of the trial were Vianesius, Laurentius Zannus and Rodrigo of Calagora.

another year in prison.¹ The historian of the Popes was driven by torture and fear of death to make the most pitiable promises. He threw all the blame on Callimachus, and acknowledged that he had at least listened to his babble. He wrote abject letters to the Pope and despairing entreaties to the cardinals Bessarion, Marco Barbo, Rodrigo Borgia, Gonzaga and Ammanati.² Owing to his dreadful position, however, they were more excusable than the entreaties of Valla at another time. Campano, a light-hearted poet, in an admirable letter exhorted Platina to patience; while Platina in his turn, in the midst of his own despair, seized the opportunity—precious to a humanist—of holding up to a fellow-sufferer in S. Angelo (Count Francesco of Anguillara) the example of ancient heroes.³ Rodrigo Sanches, Bishop of Calagora, who was at this time castellan of S. Angelo, was touched by the sufferings of his former friends of the Academy, and profited by Platina's invitation that he would comfort him by a letter, to address him a consolatory epistle in classic

Platina
before the
Inquisition

¹ Platina, *Vita Pauli II. Quirini, Vita et Vindic. Pauli II.*, 78, Tiraboschi vi. ii. n. 72.

² Platina's letters from prison are found in Vairani, *Monum. Cremonensium*, i. 30. He writes to the Pope with humour in his despair: *Tibi polliceor, etiam si a praetorvolantib. avibus aliquid quod contra nomen salutemque tuam sit, audiero, id statim literis, aut nunciis sanctitati tuae indicaturum.*—*Celebrabimus et prosa, et carmine Pauli nomen et auream hanc aetatem, quam tuus felicissim. pontificatus efficit.*

³ Platina Francesco Averso Comiti (Vairani, *ut supra*). *Antonii Campani Ep. ad Platinam: Erige ergo te, Platina constantissime, e. collige vires tuas: qui sis considera, et quantus te expectet juvenum chorus.*

style, full of maxims of Christian resignation. From this arose a lively correspondence between the two humanists, one of whom was the prisoner, the other the jailer and the judge.¹

The
Roman
Academy
is restored.

Pomponius returned to his chair. But the Academy was prohibited by the Pope; for not even in jest would he hear the pagan names. Sixtus IV., however, allowed it to be revived. Frederick III. even granted it a privilegium, which was read aloud with applause at an academical banquet, held on April 20, 1483, when, for the first time, the foundation of Rome was publicly celebrated.² Henceforward the Academy flourished as a society of the most intellectual men, and numbered among its members Bembo, Sadoletto, Vida, Castiglione, Giovio, until the sack of Rome in 1527 put an end to its existence.

Admired as the oracle of antiquarian learning, Pomponius continued his career. His house was sacked by soldiery in 1484, but friends made good his losses; he restored it, rendered it more beautiful than before, and over the entrance inscribed: *Pomponii Laeti et Sodalitatis Esquilinalis*.³ He was the envied of many princes, nevertheless to the life of a courtier he preferred his vineyard on

¹ Vairani, *ut supra*.

² Jacopo Volaterr., *Diar. Rom.*, p. 171.

³ People confused the boundaries of the Quirinal and Esquiline. *Quae tota domus sita est in reg. Montis in Contrata Caballorum, cui ab uno latere tenet Dom. Barth. Platina, alio sunt res S. Salvatoris Cornelianorum.* Deed of April 17, 1479, in Vairani, i. 9, according to which the house was situated near the present guard-house of the Quirinal Palace.

the Quirinal, which he cultivated, Columella and Varro in hand. To the clergy he always bore a grudge; he paid no homage to any Roman magnate, though he stood on friendly terms with Cardinal Carvajal, and also maintained amicable relations with Sixtus IV., whom he celebrated in poems after his victory over Alfonso of Calabria.¹ The modern pagan died over seventy years old, on June 9, 1498, during the first horrors of the now entirely pagan times of the Borgia. He breathed his last in a hospital after having made confession as a Christian, and died in such poverty that, but for the aid of his friends, his remains would not even have received fitting burial.² His obsequies were celebrated with great solemnity in Ara Coeli, where he was crowned with laurels, in the presence of forty bishops, the foreign ambassadors and the Curia of Alexander VI., who had been kindly disposed towards him. He was buried, not according to the desire he had once expressed in an ancient sarcophagus on the Via Appia, but in S. Salvatore in Lauro.³

At the time of Pomponius the supply of ancient authors had become exhausted, and impostors already appeared, who passed off their own clumsy forgeries on the public. Such was the antiquary

The forger
Titus
Annius of
Viterbo.

¹ They are preserved in the Cod. of H. Schedel, fol. 146.

² This is said by Valerianus, *de Litterator. infel.*, ii. 86.

³ According to Mich. Fernus in the Elogium on Pomponius (*Fabricii Bibl. med. et inf. Latin VII.*, App. 11) and the letter of Sabellicus, *Ep.*, lib. xi. 461, the burial took place in Ara Coeli, nevertheless the remains were entombed in S. Salvatore. Epitaph in Renazzi, *Storia dell' univ. di Roma*, i. 231.

Titus Annii or Giovanni Nanni of Viterbo, who edited in Rome, no fewer than seventeen works of fictitious authors.¹ Scholars occupied themselves with the textual criticism of extant works and in bringing out better editions ; thus Pomponius edited the works of Sallust, Varro, Columella, Festus, Nonius Marcellus, and wrote commentaries on Virgil and Quintilian.² His independent writings, a few treatises on the institutions and laws of ancient Rome, are unimportant and far inferior to the works of Blondus ; and doubts have been cast on the authenticity of a little book concerning the antiquity of the city, which is, besides, wholly insignificant.³ The fame of Pomponius has to us almost become mythical ; his influence rested rather on his qualifications as a teacher than on his writings ; and he himself said that, like Socrates

¹ Manetho, Fabius Pictor, Berosus, etc. *Annii Viterb. antiquitat. volumina XVII. Impr. Romae per Eucharium Silber 1497 in fol.* He also occupied himself with Etruscan ; he even forged inscriptions.

² Tirab., vii. ii. lib. iii. n. 12, and Apostolo Zeno, *Dissert. Vossiane*, iii. 232.

³ *Pomp. Laetus de Rom. Urbis Vetustate*, Rome, 1515, ed. Mazocchi : a guide to students, roughly compiled by a student from the dicta of the teacher : De Rossi, *Note di Topogr. Romana raccolte dalla bocca di Pomp. Leto (Studi e docum. di Storia e Diritto, iii. 1882)*. The ancient *Curiosum* suffered interpolation from Pomponius at this time, and this gave rise to the spurious Publius Victor of Janus Parrhasius, which, with the spurious Sextus Rufus of Panvinus, confused the topography of Rome for centuries, until Sarti freed it from both. *Stadtbeschr.*, i. 73 ; Preller's *Regionen der Stadt Rom.* ; Ulrich's *Codex Urbis R. Topographicus*, Wirceb., 1871, p. 28, and the already mentioned work of De Rossi, in which the text of the *Notitia Region. Urbis*, with interpolations by Pomponius, is printed according to a Venetian Codex.

and Christ, he would survive in his disciples.¹ Among these he counted Sannazaro, Pontano, Platina, Sabellico, Andrea Fulvio, Buonaccorsi, Giano Parrasio, Campano, Molza, Alessandro Farnese, the future Paul III. Even foreigners came to Rome to listen to Pomponius, and here also Reuchlin and Peutingger made acquaintance with him.

It is worth while to follow the traces which some celebrated Germans left in Rome during this age of Humanism, and we shall here take occasion briefly to do so. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, with youthful vigour the genius of Germany fought and struggled with barbarism to compete in the same classic territories with its teachers. The Italians who visited Germany, such as Piccolomini and Bessarion, and Carvajal and Thomas of Sarzana, scarcely recognised how strong was the thirst for knowledge that prevailed there. A man like Nicholas Cusa was not understood. In this Platonic thinker—a morning star on the horizon of learning in Germany—begins the series of celebrated Germans who entered into alliance with the Humanistic circles of Rome and Italy.² He was born at Cues near Trèves about 1401, and

Celebrated
Germans
in Rome.

Cardinal
Nicholas
of Cusa.

¹ Michaeli Ferni, *Elogium Historicum Julii Pomp. Laeti*; the most life-like portrait of the antiquary; also the letter of Sabellicus to Morosini, *Op. Ep.*, lib. xi. 459, and appended to the edition of Pomponius's *Rom. Hist. Compendium*, Venice, 1499. Pomponius dedicated this little work to Francesco Borgia, Bishop of Trano.

² Several Germans studied in Italian universities even before the fifteenth century. Peter Luder was in Rome in May 1434. Wattenbach, *Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Basel*; Karlsruhe, 1869.

was the son of a poor Moselle fisherman. In his youth he studied at Padua, where Cesarini was his patron. Through Cesarini he was summoned to the Council of Basle, and there wrote his work on "the Catholic Concordance," in which he warmly maintained the authority of the Council over the Pope and demanded the reform of the Church. After the Council had come to its melancholy end, he seceded to the papal side.¹ He went to Constantinople with the embassy sent to escort the Greeks to Ferrara, became Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula in 1449, Bishop of Brixen in 1450, Vicar of Pius II. in Rome in 1459, was several times legate in Germany, and died at Todi on August 12, 1464. His grave may still be seen in S. Pietro ad Vincula. The appearance of this thoughtful foreigner among the ecclesiastical princes of Italy is indicative of the future, when the vigour of the reforming and philosophic spirit was to issue from the people of Germany. Cusa, an austere man of strictly moral life, dedicated himself, even when in Rome, exclusively to learning and his ecclesiastical affairs. He always remained poor. Absorbed in astronomical and mathematical writings and figures, this German, dwelling in the (at that time) still modest palace beside S. Pietro ad Vincula, may remind us of Sylvester II. Like Valla, he was the opponent of Aristotelian scholasticism, at the same

¹ Ritter, *Gesch. der Philos.*, ix. 145. Cusa, at that time Dean of S. Florin in Coblenz, came to Basle in August 1432: Scharpf, *Der Card. und Bischof von Cusa*, 1871, p. 6. A detailed account by Ditz, *Der deutsche Cardinal Nic. von Cusa*, 2 vols., Regensburg, 1847.—Theod. Stumpf, *Die politischen Ideen des Nicolaus v. Cues*, 1865.

time a philosopher of immense originality with traits of that pantheism of which Giordano Bruno and Spinoza afterwards became the apostles. To no branch of learning was he a stranger. As astronomer he already asserted the motion of the earth, the centre of which was God.¹

Bessarion was introduced to Cusa by means of Peurbach, the father of modern astronomy, with whom the cardinal had become acquainted at Vienna, and whom he induced to bring out the edition of Ptolemy. The work was undertaken by John Müller of Königsberg in Franconia, called Regiomontanus, a pupil of Peurbach. He came to Rome with Bessarion in the autumn of 1461, where he pointed out to George of Trebizond several mistakes in his translation of *Almagest* and thus involved himself in a violent quarrel. He left Rome and Italy in 1468, and was then invited by Sixtus IV. to reform the Calendar, but died in Rome after scarcely a year's sojourn on July 6, 1475, either of pestilence or poison administered in revenge by George's sons.² Five and twenty years later Rome sheltered the great Copernicus, who gave lectures there on mathematics in 1500.

John
Regio-
montanus.

¹ See his remarkable views in lib. ii. of his book, *de docta Ignorantia*.

² Erhard, iii. 499, 504. Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 218, says that he died of the pestilence. In behalf of this passage in my history, Don Baldassarre, Prince Buoncompagni, vainly endeavoured to discover the place where Regiomontanus is buried; and I here take the opportunity publicly to express my thanks to this learned mathematician for the liberality with which for years he has placed his vast library at my disposal.

John
Wessel.

The warlike expeditions and the pilgrimages of Germans to the land of their ardent longings now gave place to journeys undertaken in the cause of learning. Wherever there was a school of renown in Italy, there might Germans be found, more especially after Rudolf Agricola thence brought classic literature back with him to Germany. A predecessor of the Reformation, John Wessel of Gröningen, studied Greek in Italy, where he became acquainted with Bessarion; he was in Rome at the time of the election of Sixtus IV., with whom he already stood on friendly footing. The Pope invited the pious mystic to ask him a favour. Wessel besought him to exercise his office as a true priest; he then asked him for a Greek and Hebrew Bible from the Vatican library.¹ Soon afterwards (on November 13, 1476) Sixtus ratified the new university of Tübingen. Its founder, Count Eberhard, husband of Barbara Gonzaga of Mantua, came to Rome in 1482, attended by the Scholastic Gabriel Biel. In 1485 came the celebrated founder of the Heidelberg library, John of Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, accompanied by Agricola. A year later came the learned Westphalian Rudolf Lange and his pupil Hermann Busch; then the afterwards celebrated Humanist, the indefatigable traveller Conrad Celtes, whom Pomponius persuaded to found the *Societas Rhenana*, and who, fired by the example of Blondus, attempted to write a *Germania Illustrata*.² Reuchlin had already visited Rome

John of
Dalberg.

Conrad
Celts.

Reuchlin.

¹ Ullmann, John Wessel, Hamburg, 1842, p. 355.

² Celtes, in his last years Custodian of the Vienna library (he died

with Count Eberhard in 1482. He astonished the Romans attending the lectures of John Argyropylos by immediately reproducing passages of Thucydides in the best Latin. In admiration the Greek Professor exclaimed: "Now is our banished Hellas fled across the Alps to Germany."¹ In 1490 Reuchlin visited Rome, where he became intimate with Ermolao Barbaro. He returned thither once more in the summer of 1498 as envoy of Philip, the Count Palatine. He remained a year in Rome, occupied with Greek and Hebrew studies and at the same time making acquisitions for the Heidelberg library. All these German Humanists brought back to their native country a horror of the moral depravity of Rome and at the same time the seeds of Humanistic learning; and never did this learning fall on more fruitful soil than in the German Fatherland.

February 4, 1508) was not impressed by Rome, where he only remained a short time. He was obliged to kiss the foot of Innocent VIII., whereupon he made the following bad epigram:

*Ast ego dum Romae vidissem tecta Nocentis,
Oscula ferre suo jusserat ille pedi.*

Lib. ii. Ep. 48, and another mediocre one on the ruins of Rome, Erhard, ii. 32. He made acquaintance with Callimachus at Cracow. Joseph Aschbach, *Die früheren Wanderjahre des Conrad Celtis*, Vienna, 1869.

¹ Mayerhof, *Joh. Reuchlin und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1830. Lamey, *Joh. Reuchlin, eine biogr. Skizze*, Pforzheim, 1855. The article "Reuchlin" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 1860, vol. xii. L. Geiger, *Joh. Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1871.

5. HISTORIOGRAPHY—BLONDUS FLAVIUS—SABELLICUS—PIUS II.—HIS COMMENTARII—AMMANATI—PATRIZI—CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES—THE HUMANISTS AS BIOGRAPHERS OF THE POPES—VESPASIANO—MANETTI—CAMPANO—CANNESIO—GASPAR OF VERONA—PLATINA—HIS HISTORY OF THE POPES—JACOPO OF VOLTERRA—BURKARD OF STRASBURG—THE ROMAN DIARIES—PAUL PETRONI—THE NOTARY OF NANTIORTU—INFESSURA.

The writing of History was also cultivated with abundant success in the fifteenth century. Cities, princes and tyrants, even condottieri found their chroniclers, the Papacy received its first historian and the Middle Ages a historical record. Livy, Sallust Historians. and Plutarch were the models aimed at in language and form. A rhetoric, which affected the antique, consequently too frequently distorted the history of the century and removed it from its national soil, but this transit through classicism was necessary in order to break through the obsolete forms of the monastic or civic chronicle, to attain a political point of view and to raise historiography to the height of a work of art. The Florentine histories of Bruni and Poggio, with which the humanistic writing of history begins, are but cold imitations; nevertheless we have long recognised that without this school of classicism the national works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini could scarcely have arisen.¹

It is unnecessary to explain how it happened, that

¹ Concerning the value of the Florentine histories of Poggio and Bruni, see Gervinus (*Histor. Schriften*, Frankfort, 1833).

in Rome no one ever undertook the task of writing a civic history. Corio was able to compile the history of Milan; Collenuccio the general history of Naples; Florence put forth the great series of historic works from Poggio to Machiavelli and his successors, and Venice produced the works of Giustiniani and Bembo; but Rome had no longer any political life, and her history therefore falls within the sphere of that of Italy and the Church.

To five names we must assign all that belongs to the province of historiography: Blondus, Pius II., Platina, Burkard and Infessura. They denote the general History, the Commentaries, the History of the Popes, the Diaries and the Annals.

The original work of Blondus, *Three decades from the fall of the Roman Empire*, forms an epoch as the predecessor of the history of Gibbon.¹ While the celebrated work of his contemporary Matteo Palmieri is a chronicle of the world, Blondus was the first to undertake to write a mediaeval history of the Empire and Italy from the time of Alaric to his own. He divided it into decades after the manner of Livy. His achievement is truly admirable, for he was the first to tread a varied and unknown field. Although, owing to still defective critical insight, his work contains many errors, his knowledge of the sources is surprising, so much the more that the study of mediaeval chronicles was

Blondus
Flavius.

¹ *Historiar. decades tres ab inclinat. imp. Romani, 400-1440.* Death prevented him writing further than Book I. of the Fourth Decade. He had begun the work in 1442: A. Masius, *Flavio Biondo*, p. 34.

new at a time when people only turned to the classics. Blondus did not aim at humanistic elegance; his object was to bring to light that which had been hid in darkness. He was thus the first to extract the history of the Middle Ages from the chronicles and consider it as an epoch in the life of Humanity. Pius II. made an epitome of the Decades of Blondus which Lucius Faunus translated into Italian.¹

Sabellicus. Besides Blondus Rome would have been able to boast of Sabellicus, had not this diligent scholar dedicated his services to the republic of Venice. Venice estranged the Sabine from Rome in the same way as she had estranged the Volscian Aldus. Marcantonio Sabellico, son of Giovanni Coccio, was born about 1436 in the Orsini stronghold of Vicovaro, near Tivoli. He became the pupil of Pomponius. In consequence of the suit against the Academy, he seems to have successfully escaped from Rome. In 1475 he became professor in Udine, where he wrote a work on the antiquity of Aquileia. In 1484 he received a summons to Venice; afterwards he went to Verona, where, commissioned by Venice, he wrote a cursory history of the Venetian republic, which was later continued by Bembo. His greatest work is the *Enneades* or *Rhapsodies of History*, a universal history of the world until 1504. This work, distinguished by great wealth of material but

¹ Pius II.'s verdict is: *Opus laboriosum et utile, verum expolitore emendatoreque dignum*: *Comment.*, xi. 130. In his conception of the relation of the Church to the Empire, Blondus is a thorough-going Papist.

lack of deep study, is influenced by the example of Blondus. Sabellico died in 1506.¹

One of the most copious sources of the history of the time is to be found in the works of Pius II. History and the geography connected with it form the substance of his voluminous writings. Although Aeneas Sylvius has much in common with the one-sided classic humanists, he does not belong to the order, but illustrates a new tendency of literature. He was a rhetorician and man of the world, able to talk intellectually on every subject, and possessing vast treasures of knowledge. His writings are thus the expression of a cultivated personality of modern type.² They take their stand in the present, and their appearance was dictated by the occasion and the author's personality. Aeneas is unfettered by the bonds of scholastic correctness, but he fascinates the reader by his free and mobile style. A great revolution in the intellectual conditions of Europe must have been accomplished, when a pope, instead of writing exegeses and sermons, offered the world an attractive entertainment in his own works.

To the time preceding his pontificate belong some of his books, for the most part historical, such as those on the Council of Basle, the history of Bohemia, the history of Frederick III. or of Austria, an epitome of the history of the Goths by Jordanes,

¹ *Rer. Venetiar. ab urbe condita ad Marcum Barbadicum Venetiar. principem libri 33*, Venet., 1487.—*Enneades seu Rapsodia historiar. ab O. C.*—1504.

² *In eo primum apparuit—seculi mutati signum*, excellently says Paolo Cortese, *de Cardinalatu*, p. 39 (ed. A.D. 1510).

and geographical writings. His design was to produce a great work, in which to the description of countries he wished to unite the history of the people, especially of his own time. This cosmography was to embrace two divisions—Asia and Europe. It remained fragmentary. When Pope he completed in Tivoli the *Asia*, that is to say the description of Asia Minor.¹ He laid the greatest value on this work; but posterity, which could dispense with both this and other writings of the Pope, will always regard his *Commentaries* as his greatest achievement.

Comment-
aries of
Pius II.

That, like Caesar, a Pope should write his *Commentaries* was unexampled, and shows how completely the individual had emancipated himself from the limits of caste and tradition. Neither were they written by Pius II. for the glorification of the Church, but from the necessity of leaving to posterity a portrait of a full life, which ended on the papal throne. These memorials embrace the period between 1405 and 1463. They are not merely of great value as regards the history of the time, but form the mirror in which the whole character of the writer, his tastes, talents, his intellectual aspect as man and author appear in the clearest light. He here shows himself as poet and antiquary, as a modern enthusiast for the beautiful in nature, even as a painter of manners. His descriptions of the Roman Campagna, of Tivoli,

¹ The general title of the work is: *Historiar. ubique gestar., cum locor. descriptione*, Venice, 1477. The book printed as *Europa* is merely a sketch.

Vicovaro and the valley of the Anio, or that of Ostia, or of his summer sojourns on Monte Amiata or the Alban Mountains are so entirely modern, that they may serve as guides and models to the traveller of present times. The *Commentaries* were written at the dictation of the Pope during the last years of his life; his favourite Campano, however, polished and altered them and, sad to say, even made omissions in them.¹ The work was continued by Cardinal Ammanati to the year 1469, and the edition of this continuation is of especial value owing to the many letters of the Cardinal.

The Siennese Agostino Patrizi, who was master of the ceremonies to Paul II., stood also in the service of this accomplished humanist. He wrote a history of Siena, which remained unprinted, and also published the history and acts of the Council of Basle, based on the works of John of Segovia. He died in Rome in 1496.²

The autobiography of Pius II. remains a produc-

¹ On this subject see Voigt. Not until 1384 were the *Commentaries* (from Campano's Redaction) printed in Rome, owing to the instrumentality of the Archbishop Francesco Bandino Piccolomini, when the name of the copyist Gobelín appeared by mistake on the title page as that of the author. The Codex is preserved in the Corsini library. All editions of the *Commentaries* are mutilated by omissions. The suppressed passages have been published by Cugnoni: *J. Aeneae Sylvii Piccol. Senensis . . . opera inedita . . . ex Cod. Chisianis*, Roma, 1883. See Pastor, ii. 627 f.

² His work on the Council of Basle was first incorporated by Labbé into his collection. With Burkard's help, Patrizi revised the *Pontificale Roman. : Pontif. Roman. de novo editum per Augustin. Patricium de Piccolomineis, et Joh. Burchardum. . . . Impr. Romae per Steph. Plannk, A. 1485*. He also revised the *Ceremon. Roman.*

Continuation of the lives of the Popes.

Vespasiano.

tion isolated in literature, none of his successors having followed his example. It naturally cast into shade everything that had been written in the fifteenth century of so-called "Lives of the Popes."¹ Humanists, however, more especially papal secretaries, now began to write the lives of their patrons, and compiled pictures of life which were untrue to history. Merely rhetorical panegyrics, which might almost be called funeral eulogies, they were frequently interesting owing to the artistic relief into which the portrait was thrown. Plutarch had created a new biographical literature, and, in an age in which individuality assumed a modern character, biography became a favourite subject in Renaissance literature. The Florentine Vespasiano, the compiler of 103 short and pleasant biographies (written in Italian) of celebrated men of the fifteenth century, wrote the lives of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. The life of Nicholas V. was also written in three short books of vivid description by Manetti, soon after the death of the Pope.² Similar panegyrics are those of Campano on Pius II., and of Michael Cannesius on Paul II. The latter Pope however found a more accurate biographer in Gaspar of Verona.³ The life of Sixtus IV. was begun by Platina.

¹ We possess the official *Vitae* of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. as continuations of the work of Ptolemy of Lucca; they are merely scanty summaries, and have been edited by Muratori and Baluze.

² Mai's *Spicil. Rom.*, i., contains all Vespasiano's Biographies. The same *Vite di uomini ill. del. sec. XV.* have been edited by A. Bartoli, Flor., 1859.—Manetti's *Vita Nicol.* in Mur., iii. ii.

³ The *Vitae* mentioned are given in Muratori, iii. ii. The Book of Gaspar, which is not included by Muratori, was edited by Mârin

Bartolommeo Sacchi or Platina, born at Piadena Platina. in the territory of Cremona, was first a soldier and then studied with great success under Vittorano at Mantua. Cardinal Gonzaga brought him to Rome, and Ammanati introduced him to Pius II., who made him abbreviator. In correspondence with the Medici, Platina became intimate with Bessarion and Pomponius. After the trial under Paul II. Platina's good fortune began under Sixtus IV., who made him custodian of his library. Henceforward he lived universally respected in his house on the Quirinal. His dignified aspect, sonorous voice, his gait and demeanour bespoke the man of finished culture.¹ He died of the pestilence on September 21, 1481, and the Roman Academy honoured his memory in his own house on April 18, 1482.²

Sixtus had entrusted him with two tasks—to collect documents concerning the temporal rights of the Sacred Chair and to write the history of the popes. Platina consequently compiled a book consisting of three volumes of documents, which, although never printed, has been made use of by the annalists of the Church, and still remains in the Vatican library.³ As archivist Platina had access

(*Archivari*, T. ii.). From the Codex of the Angelica Cannesius was published by Angelo Maria Quirini: *Pauli II. Veneti P. M. Gesta Vindicata et illustrata*, Rome, 1740, together with the *Vindiciae ipsius Pont. adv. Platinam aliosque obtrectatores*.

¹ Paolo Cortese, p. 233.

² His house was afterwards bought by Cardinal Girolamo Bussa: Jac. Volat., *Diar. Rom.*, 17. His grave is in S. Maria Maggiore.

³ *Privilegia Pontificum et Imperator. ad dignitatem S. R. E. spectantia*. Predecessors of Platina were Albinus, Cencius and the

Platina's
History of
the Popes.

to all the materials required for a history of the popes. This, the most difficult of all historical tasks—a task now beyond the powers of any single man—was undertaken for the first time by Platina, and in this lies his glory. The victory of Humanism over Monasticism perhaps reveals nothing more clearly than the fact that Sixtus IV., himself a Minorite, entrusted the history of the Papacy to an Academician, who had undergone a trial, from which it was suspected that he was a disbeliever in Christianity. Platina treated his subject entirely as a Humanist.¹ He wrote with ease and elegance. But his work, devoid of historic basis and intellectual insight, is only a pleasant handbook, in which it is evident that classic biography served as model. And although at this period we do not look for a historic or philosophic method of regarding history, still the fact remains that Platina can only be considered an intellect of second rank. The same subject would have been treated by Blondus with greater breadth and

Cardinal of Aragon. He himself only recast the three volumes of transcripts of documents, which had been made by Urban Fieschi for Sixtus IV. The imperial *Privilegia* for the Popes were collected by Lünig and Cenni in the eighteenth century. Platina's task was carried out in a completer form by the papal archivist Theiner: *Cod. Dipl. Domini Temporalis S. Sedis*, Rome, 1861 sq., 3 vols. This work abounds in information concerning *saec. XIV.*, but is very insufficient as regards the following centuries.

¹ The very beginning of his history is characteristic; he enters on the life of Christ, saying that, by virtue of his genus Christ completely attained the Platonic conception of the four-fold *nobilitas*: *quem enim ex gentilibus habemus, qui gloria et nomine cum David et Salomone, quique sapientia et doctrina cum Christo ipso conferri merito debeat et possit?*

more historic insight. Platina possessed love of truth and candour of judgment ; he also felt the necessity of criticism, but he does not bring any acuteness to bear on his subject, and never interrupts the flow of his description. For the earlier periods he made use of the biographies of the popes by " Anastasius " and others ; for those of his own time he is original. The humanistic fashion of treating the chronology of the annalists with contempt stands in the way of the use of his book. He avenges himself on Paul II., with whose life it ends, by depicting the odious portrait of a barbarian, a portrait somewhat, although not in all respects, overdrawn.¹ Platina's work shows an immense advance in history on the monkish falsehoods and fictions of a Martin Polonus or a Ricobald. By producing the first picture of the papal lives that corresponded to the requirement of the age, Platina thrust aside these handbooks of the Middle Ages. His work soon obtained widespread circulation. It was afterwards continued by Panvinus, and even now we can read with enjoyment these biographies of the popes.²

Platina also wrote a history of Mantua, several treatises and dialogues, and biographies such as that of Neri Capponi.³ He also began the life of Sixtus

¹ It was on this account that Quirini wrote his *Apologia* for Paul II., in which at times he exaggerates no less than Platina. For what more was the vain Paul than a very mediocre man ?

² First edition, Venice, by Giov. de Colonia, fol., A.D. 1479.

³ *Platinae Opera Ex officina Euchari Cervicorni A.D. 1529.* They include the dialogues *de falso et vero homo ; contra amores ; de vera nobilitate ; de optimo cive ; panegyricus in Bessarionem ; Oratio ad Paul II. P. M. de Pace Italia componenda atque de bello Turcis indicendo.*

Jacopo of
Volterra.

IV., and this Pope had to lament the fact that death deprived him of his grateful biographer. The history of his pontificate, however, was undertaken by Jacopo of Volterra, the secretary first of Ammanati, afterwards of Sixtus IV. We possess a fragment of his "Diaries" extending from 1472 until 1484.¹ Jacopo, a cultivated humanist, wrote a good and simple style: he avoids politics, and censures no one, but portrays characters. He is favourably disposed towards Sixtus IV., but laments that zeal for studies fell into neglect in his time. His work, rich in materials, inaugurates the series of "diaries" from which the history of Rome has to be extracted from the time of Sixtus IV. They are compiled by papal masters of ceremonies or by independent citizens. These priests of the papal chapel make note day by day of everything done by the Pope, or that happened at his court with respect to the official ritual. Thus arose these diaries, for the most part dry accounts of ceremonies, in which, however, dates of historic value are registered.

Burkard's
Diary.

Among such diaries that of John Burkard has attained an almost fabulous celebrity, of which the author himself had probably not the slightest prevision. The cleric from Haslach near Strassburg, whence he came while still young to Rome in 1481, became Master of the Ceremonies in 1483, and as Bishop of Horta retained this influential position.

¹ Murat., xxiii. : Jacobi Volaterrani, *Diar. Roman.* He became secretary on November 26, 1479; among his colleagues were: Marcellus Rusticus, Gaspar Blondus, Andrew of Trebizond and the historian Matteo Palmieri. Jacopo died in Rome, A.D. 1516.

The bishopric had been promised him by Pius III. in 1503, and had been ratified by Julius II., without his having actually entered on the see.¹ His diaries begin with December 1483 and end with April 27, 1506. He appears to have jotted them down for his own use and not officially. During the entire reigns of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. until 1494, he scarcely records anything but formalities. From 1494 onwards he becomes historical. He writes a rough Latin, shows himself without taste for learning or humanistic culture, and even without talent—a vacant-minded official pedant. It is only the facts of the history of the Borgia court that have endowed Burkard's diaries with their fame. He recounts these simply and dryly, expressing no opinion, but it is precisely these qualities that make him appear a trustworthy witness. His diary cannot be regarded as on the level of a pamphlet like the secret History of Procopius; but it is an indisputably authentic authority concerning the history of the Papacy of his time. It is asserted that interpolations have

¹ He became *Clericus ceremoniar.* on December 21, 1483, as he himself says (Cod. Chigi at the beginning), and Bishop of Orta on October 3, 1503. On February 1, 1487, in the *lib. fratern. in Sto. Spirito*, he signs himself as *Ego Johes Burkardus prepositus ecc. s. Florentii haselacen. Argentinen. dioc.* (probably Haslach on the Kinzig) *Sed. ap. proth. et Capelle S. D. N. P. Magr. Ceremoniar.*—In the same Archive exists (v. 74) the will of *Joh. Mileti prepos. eccl. s. Florentii haslacensis argentin. dioc. canon. Tullensis* of August 17, 1479. In the summers of 1490 and 1498 Burkard travelled to Strassburg, where he owned benefices. With Agostino Patrizi, his predecessor in office, he had revised the Book of Papal Ceremonies (*Ceremoniale Romanum*). Notice Biograph. by Thouasne in the edition, vol. iii. of Burkard (1885).

been made in the copies of his diaries; but if this were true, it would still remain in the highest degree striking that so many passages, which have been designated as spurious, should all be found in the best known copies. They consequently point to a common source—Burkard's diary itself. There are gaps in every copy.¹ The autograph of the diary is in the Vatican library.

On his death Burkard's manuscript was at first taken over by his successor in office, Paris de Grassis, a Bolognese, who declares that it had been purposely written in illegible characters, and as reason for the circumstance assigns a jealous affectation of secrecy.² Not only as an Italian, but also as a younger colleague, Paris was the sworn enemy of his predecessor. For Burkard had striven to prevent his appointment as second Master of the Ceremonies in May 1504, as Paris—a still duller-witted pedant—himself informs us. Nothing was more frequent than the

¹ Also in Cod. Chigi, which is reputed the most complete, and which was copied from the original in the Vatican by order of Alexander VII. Burkard was first partially edited by Leibnitz as *Hist. Arcana sive de vita Alex. VI. P.*, Hanover, 1697, after excerpts in the Wolfenbüttel library. He was edited from a Berlin MS. by Eccard (*Corp. Hist.*), but very defectively, and with greater incorrectness than by Leibnitz. In 1787 Brequigny gave an account of the Paris MS. in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibl. du roy.*—In 1854 Gennarelli published in Florence the first part of the Diary down to 1494. L. Thouasne then brought out the first complete edition in three vols., Paris, 1883–85.

² *Ita inhumaniter egit: quod libros quos ex talibus inscripserat nemo intelligere potest nisi diabolus assertor ejus aut saltem Sibilla, sic enim cifris aut characterib. obscurissimis depinxit aut literis oblitteratis et oblitis figuravit, ut credo ipsum habuisse diabolum pro copista talis scripturae.* Paris de Grassis—Chigi, i. 807.

personal enmity of such colleagues. Paris repeatedly complains in his diary that Burkard told him nothing, never instructed him in his duties or office, and took his own way in everything. He had pursued this arbitrary course at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new building of S. Peter's. In his anger Paris even accuses him of having stolen one of the medals which Julius II. had struck in commemoration of the solemnity. He overwhelms him with the coarsest invectives.¹ But we are not acquainted with any passage of Paris where he attacks the contents of Burkard's diaries, or accuses him of having invented or distorted facts. And comparing Burkard's statements with contemporary accounts, especially with those of the envoys of Venice, Florence and Ferrara, we have been able to prove their correctness almost from first to last.

The man dwelt respected at the papal court, favourably regarded by Julius II., although Paris accused him of having forced his way into the post of assistant and referendary of that Pope. He died in Rome on May 15, 1506, after having arranged in his official capacity one of the most memorable of solemnities, that of laying the foundation stone of the greatest temple in the world, S. Peter's. His enemy and successor was obliged to provide for his

¹ Paris writes in the Diary which was continued by him: *Die Domin. 15 Maji (1506) mort. est Epis. Hortanus cuj., an in pace quiescat. Hic fuit ille magnus trimagister et trigenialis ceremoniar. nostrar., qui si humanus vivus fuisset ars ex illo ampliata fuisset, sed quoniam non solum non humanus, sed supra omnes bestias bestialissimus, inhumaniss., invidiosiss., ideo nostrae ceremoniae et conculcate et implicate fuerunt.*

obsequies in S. Maria del Popolo; and according to his own avowal, he performed the duty in such a manner as to excite laughter.¹

Lawrence
Behaim.

There was yet another German humanist in Rome, who was intimately acquainted with the private life of Alexander VI. Lawrence Behaim, a native of Nuremberg, and probably a member of the family of the celebrated knight Martin. Two and twenty years he served Borgia in the capacity of major domo, while Borgia was still a cardinal. Unfortunately he did not devote his leisure to writing memoirs, but to copying inscriptions, his collection of which was brought to Nuremberg.²

Antonio
Petri.
Laelius
Petronius.

There was no lack of attempts at writing the contemporary history of Rome during this century, and we have already noticed the Roman diaries of Antonio Petri (1404-1417). Under Nicholas V., Paul, son of the noble Roman Laelius Petronius, wrote in Italian his so-called *Mesticanza*, annals of Rome from 1433 until 1446; this work, which is stupid and devoid of historical intelligence, is marked by a naïve vulgarity and is useful by reason of many of its biographical notices; but it is far inferior to the *Life of Cola di Rienzo*.³

¹ Burkard was buried with honour in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Salerno in S. Maria del Popolo. The *Necrolog. Roman.*, MS. Galetti, Vat. 7871, gives May 16 as the date of his death, Paris the 15th. Burkard made Rafael Riario his executor.

² In the Codex of H. Schedel. Behaim was *decretor. doctor*, and was also skilled in music. The Codex contains poems written to him by Jacopo de Questenberg, D. Ferrer, and Joh. Hasso, in which he is once called *Cytharista*.

³ *Miscell. Hist. Pauli Lili Petronii Romani*, Murat., T. xxiv. With-

Among these journalists the first to rise to actual importance was Stefano Infessura, a Roman belonging to the region of Trevi. The life of the man is unknown, beyond what we learn from himself; viz., that he had been praetor in Horta in 1478, and then became secretary to the senate.¹ He compiled a *Diarium* of the city of Rome partly in Italian, partly in Latin, the beginning of which is merely fragmentary, for it opens with 1295, skips to 1403, gives the history of the first half of the fifteenth century as it were in extracts from other chronicles, and then becomes original and copious, especially from Sixtus IV onwards. Infessura evidently conceived a greater plan which he did not execute. He was a doctor of law, but, like Burkard, without humanistic

out a beginning, since the first sixteen pages are missing in the Vatican MS., n. 6389. The work probably began with the year 1417. Concerning Petroni and his family, see. C. Corvisieri, vol. ii. *Archiv. della Società Romana*, p. 491 ff., which also contains a Lamento by him. Of similar character is the *Diar. Roman. Urbis ab. A. 1481-1492 auctore anon Synchrono Notario de Antiportu* (corruption from *Antiporto alle guerre*), from Cod. Vat. 6823, in Murat., iii. 2. The libraries of Rome contain unpublished and generally speaking fragmentary writings of this kind of little importance; thus the short annals of *Paolo di Benedetto di Cola di lo Maestro dello Rione di Ponte* from 1422-1484 (Vatican library, n. 5225, and Chigiana). The author was captain of the region in 1452. His work is very weak. Extracts from it by Achille de Antonis in vol. x. of the periodical *Buonarrotti*. An Italian fragment of the *Diario del Corona* (1481-1488) in the Barberini library. There also the *Diario di Sebastiano di Branca de Telini* (1499-1517), of which Infessura made great use; the diaries of Stefano Caffari, 1424-1455 (Extracts in vol. viii. of the *Arch. di Soc. Rom.*, p. 554 f.) and the like.

¹ Ranke wrongly makes Infessura Master of the Ceremonies (*Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichte schreiber*, p. 106); neither did Jacopo of Volterra fill the office.

culture. Of the literary and artistic life in Rome he takes not the slightest notice. In the court official Burkard, the man never ventures to appear; but in Infessura the heart of a free citizen beats, and reason exercises its judgment. He appears as a practical man of simple and rude character, a Roman patriot, a republican from inclination and principle, an enemy of the papal power, and he openly avows himself an admirer of his friend Porcaro. He consequently reserves his censures for the popes, and the darkest colours more especially for Sixtus IV., whom he so deeply hated. Falsifications of history however are not to be laid to his charge. He is simply one-sided. Of the good wrought by Sixtus he has scarcely a word to say. We may call him the last republican of the city of Rome, a man of excellent disposition and filled with simple dignity. Through him we become best acquainted with public life in the time of Sixtus and Innocent, for which his diaries are our chief authority. This highly meritorious work is called into frequent requisition. Even Burkard, who as Bishop of Horta was probably acquainted with Infessura, copied passages from his work for the year 1492.¹

¹ The first edition brought out by Eccard (*Corp. Hist.*, ii.) is more complete than that of Muratori, who suppressed several severe passages. Latest Edition: *Diario della Città di Roma di Stefano Infessura Scribasenato*, by O. Tommasini, Rome, 1890 (*Fonti per la Stor. d'Italia*); in addition, *Arch. Soc. Rom. st. patr.*, xi. 481-640.

6. THE POETRY OF THE HUMANISTS—CENCIO—LOSCHI—
 MAFFEO VEGIO—CORRER—DATI—NICCOLÒ VALLA
 —GIANANTONIO CAMPANO—AURELIO BRANDOLINI—
 GIUSTO DE' CONTI—BEGINNINGS OF THE DRAMA—
 THE MYSTERIES AND PASSION-PLAYS—ROMAN POMPS
 AND SCENIC REPRESENTATIONS—THEATRE OF CAR-
 DINAL RAFAEL RIARIO—FERDINAND SERVATUS—
 POMPONIUS LAETUS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF
 ITALIAN DRAMAS BY THE ACADEMICIANS.

Equally with learning the Humanists made the art of poetry a subject of formal study. In their enthusiasm for antiquity they rejected the Italian language as an unworthy vesture for the Muses, and wrote Latin odes, elegies, epigrams, idylls and epics. Although at the present day we may only be able to read these cold imitations, the productions of the most celebrated poets of that period, in the interests of the history of literature, yet in their own time they expressed the tendency of the period, frequently reproduced its character in antique form, and diffused its intellectual life through society.

The fifteenth century honoured as poets many men whose works now moulder in the dust of libraries. In Rome Rustici, Loschi and Vegio were esteemed great poets of the early Renaissance. Agapito di Cenci was a Roman of the ancient house of the Rustici, a friend of Poggio, a pupil of Chrysoloras, and a zealous student of ancient literature, also a doctor of both branches of the law, and in his time a celebrated humanist. Martin V. made him apostolic secretary; his patron Pius II.,

The
Humanist
poets.

Agapito
di Cenci.

Bishop of Camerino. He died in 1464, and of the value of his unpublished poetry we can no longer judge.¹

Antonio
Loschi.

Another friend of Poggio, Antonio Loschi, a native of Vicenza, who lived in Rome as papal secretary and died in 1450, was no less honoured as a poet. He wrote epigrams and epistles in verse and was also admired as a grammarian.²

Maffeo
Vegio.

Under Eugenius IV. Maffeo Vegio entered the Roman Chancery, first as Abbreviator and then as Datary. He came from Lodi, where he was born in 1406. This many-sided and most noble man was one of the few humanists who returned to an ecclesiastical career. He even became an Augustinian monk. He wrote ecclesiastical, antiquarian and moral treatises, also legal works.³ For Eugenius IV. he compiled the life of Augustine and his mother Monica, further the biography of Bernardino of Siena. But he had also already acquired fame as a Latin poet. He was audacious enough to write a thirteenth book to the *Aeneid*, which obtained admiration at the time, and was printed as a continuation of Virgil. Vegio died in 1458. He was

¹ Campanus, *Vita Pii II.*, p. 984, calls him *clarum in Poëtica quoque sed juris scientia longe eminentissimum*. Paolo Cortese is silent concerning him. Notices regarding him are given by Marini, *Archiatr.*, ii. 157. His gravestone is in the Minerva.

² Tiraboschi, iv. ii. 219. He compiled a commentary to eleven orations of Cicero, and a formulary for the Curia, to introduce the language of Cicero into the Roman Chancery. Voigt. Paolo Cortese praises him as a stylist. Likewise Facius, *de viris ill.*, ed. Mehus, Flor., 1745.

³ A valueless legal lexicon, *de verbor. significatione*. Savigny, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, vi. 369.

buried in S. Agostino in the Chapel of S. Monica, in which he had caused a tomb to be erected.¹ Contemporaries of his were Gregorio Correr, a member of the same family as Eugenius, who was celebrated both as poet and humanist and who discovered Salvian's work *de divina providentia* in Germany, and Leonardo Dati, a Florentine, first secretary of Cardinal Jordan Orsini, and then of several of Calixtus III.'s successors.²

The Roman Niccolò Valle, son of Lelio, the learned consistorial advocate, acquired greater merit as a poet by his translation of the *Hesiod*, which was printed in 1471. When Pius II. urged the Turkish war, Valle composed an elegiac poem, in which he summoned Constantine to the rescue of Rome, and the emperor replied that "pious Aeneas" would avenge her. The painstaking poem does not however bear the stamp of a gifted poetic nature. Its author died at the early age of twenty-one, before he had finished the translation of the *Iliad*. His contemporaries paid honourable tribute to his memory.³

¹ Tiraboschi, vi. ii. 234. The greater part of the works of Vegio are in the *Bibl. Max. Patr.*, vol. xxvi., among them the *poemata heroica*: *Antonias (vita S. Antonii)*, *Astyanax*, *Vellus aureum*, and *lib. 13 Aeneidos*. He thus combined paganism and Christianity. P. Cortese says of him: *ingeniosus, sed aliquanto turgidior*.

² His letters were edited by Mehus, Flor., 1743. Dati died at Rome as Bishop of Massa in 1472. His Latin poetry has not been published.

³ The translation was printed in 1474 *in domo Ph. de Lignaminis*, with a preface by Gaza. The tomb of the poet (he died September 26, 1473) is in Aracoeli. Concerning him, see Gyraldi, *De poëtis suor. temp.*, ii. 533. He is also extolled by Cortese; and Valerianus, *De litter. infel.*, calls him *summae eruditionis, graecis latinisque litteris apprime doctus*.

The
Porcari.

Like the Valle, the Porcari were also distinguished by culture, and thus honoured in the best possible way the memory of the unfortunate knight Stephen. Their palace in the neighbourhood of the Minerva was a museum of antiquities, and a meeting-place for scholars and artists. Paolo Porcius shone as rhetorician and poet in the time of Sixtus IV.¹ Other members of the family filled high offices in the magistracy or the Church. Gyraldi speaks with admiration of Camillus Porcius as poet, together with another Roman, Evangelista Magdalenì Capo di Ferro, who must have been one of the foremost intellects in Rome in Renaissance times, and who afterwards became the favourite of Leo X.²

The poetry of these Latinists, valuable in its time, now remains forgotten or buried in libraries; for who knows anything of the verses of Pietro Odo from Sabine Monopoli, who, according to the opinion of Blondus, possessed the skill of Ovid and Horace?³ Or who is acquainted with the poetry of the celebrated Roman Paolo Pompilio, who died young in 1490? Or with that of Aemilio Boccabella, a favourite of Pietro Riario, whose extravagant festival

¹ His *Elegia ad Anellum Archamonum*, the Ambassador of Naples to Sixtus IV., is given in Amaduzzi's *Anecdota Litteraria*, i. 413.

² Gyraldi, p. 594, calls Camillus Porcius *grandis et magnificus*; but says that a better poet was Evangelista Magdalenì, that is to say, Fausto Maddaleno de' Capi de Ferro. His poems are contained in Cod. Vat. 3351, which, however, I was not permitted to examine in the Vatican.

³ Blond., *Ital.*, iii. 121.

in honour of the princess Eleonora he sang in Latin hexameters?¹

The youth of Rome undoubtedly furnished poetasters enough to the Academy of Pomponius in that marvellous time, of the classic intoxication of which we can no longer form an idea. True that the art of poetry in Italy, then even more than now, was an exercise in style, and its patron not Apollo, but the grammarian Donatus. We must however become entirely imbued with the whole atmosphere of Renaissance times to be able to judge dispassionately both its poetry and the fulness of its intellectual character. For it cannot be understood from the reflections which it left behind in the later Academies either in Rome or elsewhere.

The historian of universal literature finds more profit in dwelling on the Latin poets, such as the two Strozzi in Ferrara, Poliziano and Marullo in Florence, or Pontano and Sannazaro in Naples. But these men have nothing to do with Rome, and we must remain satisfied with putting forward the claims of Gianantonio Campano.

This talented man, the son of a Campanian servant, herded sheep while a boy. Then, entering the school of a priest, he studied under Valla in Naples, and afterwards in Perugia, where he became professor of Eloquence in 1455. He was in aspect a Caliban, but endowed with the genius of an

Gian-
antonio
Campano.

¹ *Aemilii Buccabellae De convivio habitum cum Leonora Ferd. Regis filia eunte ad Nuptias Herculis Ducis Mutine ad Famam*, Cod. Ottobon. 2280, p. 136 sq. I am indebted for the account of it to Signor Corvisieri. This poem is a contribution to our knowledge of the manners of the Renaissance.

improvisatore and a style so splendid that it even seemed an advance on the earlier Latinists. A burlesque character full of humour made him one of the most agreeable of companions and acquired for him the favour of Pius II., who bestowed upon him the bishopric of Teramo. Paul II. sent him to the Diet held (on account of the Turkish war) in Regensburg in 1471. The Campanian poet found himself there like Ovid among the Getae, and his ill-humour with the climate, mode of life and want of culture among the Germans cannot be taken amiss in an Italian. In the age of Humanism, which gave a new energy to Italian national feeling, the ancient conception of the barbarians was revived. The letters and epigrams, however, which Campano addressed to his friend Ammanati breathe a cynical race-hatred. In the German fatherland, where circumstances are no longer so offensive, we now read these invectives with smiles.¹ The lively

¹ *Non faciles hederas, nec opacas frigida lauros
Terra gerit, Musis credis an esse locum ?*

Of the German wine the Italian said with sufficient reason :

*Adde sitim, atque oculos lachrymantes inter acerba
Pocula : nam ad cyathum quàm bibo tàm lachrymo.*

On taking leave of Germany, the noble bishop exclaims like Caliban :

*Accipe Campani, sterilis Germania, terga,
Accipe nudatas, Barbara terra, nates !
Ille dies, iterum qui te mihi forte videndum
Offeret, extremus sit mihi et ille dies.*

See, too, the letters relating to his sojourn to Cardinal Ammanati in Menken's edition : *Jo. Ant. Campani Ep. et Potmata*, Lips., 1707.

Petrarch had already said (*Canzone, Italia mia*) :

*Ben provvede natura al nostro stato,
Quando de l'Alpi schermo
Pose fra noi e la tedesca rabbia.*

poet fell into disgrace with Sixtus IV. for frankly taking the side of Città di Castello, of which he was rector, and which was besieged by papal troops. Campano died in exile at Siena in 1477. His works bear honourable testimony to his endowments. He wrote a biography of Pius II., also the life of Braccio, several speeches and treatises, a great many letters, which are among the wittiest of the time, and finally elegies, epigrams, and occasional poems of every description, remarkable for humour and lightness of touch. This humanist also rendered great services to learning by his revision of the text of ancient authors.

Several poets of this time dwelt at the courts of princes: Beccadelli graced that of Alfonso I., Pontano that of Alfonso II. and Ferdinand II.; the celebrated Mantovano the court of Federigo Gonzaga, the Strozzi that of Borso, Filelfo that of Francesco Sforza; Basinio and Porcellio gave renown to the palace of Gismondo Malatesta and his mistress Isotta. As the humanists now immortalised the deeds of their patrons in speeches and biographies, so did court poets in epic songs. Campano may be regarded as the laureate of Pius II., and other popes also listened to the lyre of flattering improvisatori. The blind Aurelius Brandolinus Lippus of Florence charmed Popes Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. by his Latin songs and festal hymns; he died full of honours in Rome in 1498. His brother Rafael afterwards likewise delighted the Court of Leo X. by the same art of improvisation. He was the tutor of the unfortunate Prince Alfonso of Bisceglia, and

Aurelio
Brandolini.

of the Cardinal del Monte, who later became Pope Julius III.¹

Giusto dei
Conti.

It is evident that the neo-Latin art of verse hindered the development of national poetry; and the few Italians who ventured to write verse in a form that was understood by the people were therefore all the more to be honoured. Strange to say it was Rome that produced one of the best poets of the time, Giusto dei Conti of Valmontone, belonging to a branch of the family of Innocent III. The circumstances of his life are obscure. Born in Rome at the end of the fourteenth century, he studied law, went to Rimini and died there on November 19, 1449. We may still read an inscription which the tyrant Malatesta placed to his memory in the Church of S. Francesco.² Conti gave his collection of Italian poetry the title of *la Bella Mano*, because he there sang (to excess) the praises of the beautiful hand of his beloved. He was but a languid imitator of Petrarch, the first leader of the coryphaeus of that great band of Petrarchists who, like grasshoppers, still fill the air with the chirrup of their song.

Italian poetry, however, asserted its rights, or nature itself burst the artificial bonds. As early

¹ He was blind like his brother, hence the surname *Lippus*. Gisbert Brom, *Raph. Brandolinus Lippus* (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1888, p. 175). He died in 1517. His numerous writings, speeches, treatises, and letters are unpublished.

² *Justus Orator Romanus Jurisque Consultus D. Sigismondo Malatesta Pand. F. Rege Hoc Saxo Situs Est*. See the notices in the edition of the *Bella Mano*, by Mazzuchelli, Verona, 1753. The first edition was published at Bologna in 1472.

as the second half of the fifteenth century, a sudden change took place. Lorenzo Medici, the Pulci, Poliziano, Sannazaro wrote Italian poetry, and Boiardo anticipated Ariosto. But all these poets belong to the history of literature, and even Serafino of Aquila, the once idolised poet who was exalted above Petrarch, can be mentioned only because he dwelt at the last at the court of Caesar Borgia, and died in Rome in 1500 at the age of thirty-four. Like his rival Tebaldeo he accompanied his verses with improvisations on the lute.¹

Serafino of
Aquila.

The beginnings of the independent Italian theatre likewise fall in the second half of the century, and some indications of dramatic art had already proceeded from Rome. To the oldest monuments of Italian literature belong those mysteries, which the Confraternity of the Gonfalone performed in the Colosseum on Good Friday. They made use not only of a portion of the rows of seats in the Amphitheatre, but also of the ancient palace of the Anibaldi, which had been built within it, and there possibly the actors assembled and dressed.² These were citizens, frequently belonging to the upper classes of Rome.³ As the earliest authors of these rude

Beginnings
of the
Drama.

¹ Caesar Borgia made him Knight of Malta with a good Commenda: Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, i. p. ii. 904.

² Deed of March 17, 1490, *act. in palatio conservator. alme urbis*, in Adinolfi, *Laterano Doc.*, xii., in which the guardians of the Societas Gonfalonis declare to those of S. Salvator that Innocent VIII. has given them permission *posse in dicto Coliseo facere representationes*. . . . The palace was taken in lease from the Soc. Gonfalonis in 1490.

³ On Good Friday, 1497, Harff saw the Passion Play in the Colosseum and wrote: *dit weren allit rijcker lude kinder, den it gar ordentlich ind coestlich aeff gynck*.

scenes in *ottava rima* are mentioned the Florentine Giuliano Dati, the Romans Bernardo di Mastro Antonio and Mariano Particappa.¹ They had besides already a predecessor, since "Isaac and Abraham," a mystery in *ottava rima* by Feo Belcari, had already been performed in Florence in 1449.²

Biblical
mysteries.

Nowhere had the art of representing spectacles been developed on so great a scale as in Rome, which was a theatre of passing triumphal pageants, of imperial and papal coronations, of progresses of magistrates and foreign envoys, of processions, of popular plays and masquerades and magnificent cavalcades of every kind. The splendour of the processions, more especially of that on Corpus Christi day, increased from the time of Nicholas V., and the beauty of the Roman Carnival representations or *Ludi Romani* acquired a world-wide celebrity from the days of Paul II. onward. The Renaissance made the forms more artistic, and made the customs of ancient Rome take the place of chivalry. As in poetry, so in spectacles, mythology forced an entrance as pantomime. No one was offended when in 1473 Cardinal Riario caused biblical and

*Ludi
Romani*
and the
Carnival.

¹ *La Rappresent. del N. S. G. Christo, la quale si rappresenta nel Colliseo di Roma il Venerdì Santo con la sua SS. Resurrezione istoriata*—several times printed. The last edition of this *Passione di Christo in rima volgare* is the Roman one (*Sinimberghi*, 1866) by Amati.—Dati, Bishop of S. Leone in Calabria, died in Rome in 1523.

² *La represent. di Abraham et Isaac per feo belchari ciptadino fiorentino*—*la repres. di S. Georgio martyre*, without the name of the printer (*Bibl. Casanatense*); further *la festa di annunziazione di nostra donna*. Concerning Feo Belcari (born 1410, died 1484), see Klein, *Gesch. des Dramas*, iv. i. 156, and generally the section that treats of the Italian miracle plays.

mythological scenes to be alternately represented on the same stage. In the masked processions of the Carnival, which, like the ancient Saturnalia, began at the end of December, gods and heroes, nymphs, fauns and amoretti appeared on beautifully decorated cars, which had been provided by cardinals.

It is characteristic that the first Italian drama, the *Orfeo* of Poliziano, which was performed in honour of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua in 1483, was taken from mythology. Early Roman history was also made the subject of public spectacles. The men of that age, not satisfied with taking in antiquity from its poets and authors, demanded that it should be reproduced in living pictures. Roman history was thus revived in pageants, and this taste of the Renaissance has survived to present times; witness the mythological and historic representations of many a festival in England, France, Germany and Switzerland, where even now the Middle Ages vindicate their rights with sumptuous magnificence. During the Carnival Paul II. caused a great triumphal procession to be represented, in which were seen Augustus and Cleopatra, conquered kings, the Roman Senate, consuls, magistrates with all their appropriate emblems, even with the decrees of the Senate embroidered on silk. Mythological figures surrounded the procession. From four immense cars others sang the praises of the Father of the Country, that is to say the Pope.¹ Cardinal Pietro Riario represented the bringing to Rome of the tribute of the

¹ Mich. Cannesius, *Vita Pauli II.*, p. 1019.

peoples, when seventy magnificently caparisoned mules appeared on the stage. In 1484 the history of Constantine was performed before Sixtus IV., in a court of the Vatican. The Triumph of Julius Caesar was given on the Navona in 1500, in honour of Caesar Borgia. Pastoral comedies with costly decorations were played in the Vatican, and scenes from Roman history in the piazza of S. Peter's, at the marriage festivities of Lucrezia with Alfonso of Ferrara. At Foligno a representation of the Judgment of Paris was given in honour of the Pope's daughter.

In such festal occasions and under the symbol of the characters of antiquity, ideas and circumstances of the time already found expression; the historic sense however advanced also to the point of dramatising contemporary history. The fall of Granada was celebrated on the Navona by the Spanish ambassador in a spectacle in which the Moorish fortress was attacked. At the same time, Rafael Riario also caused a representation of the subject to be given in his palace, the text being written in Latin prose by the secretary, Carlo Verardi. The theatre was improvised in the courtyard of the palace, and the piece, as the author boasts, was received with the greatest applause. In the verses of the prologue he informed the spectators that he did not offer a comedy of Plautus or Naevius, but real history and a strictly moral spectacle. This began with a dialogue between King Boabdil and his despairing counsellors; envoys of Bajazet appeared and exhorted them to resistance; then

Carlo and
Marcellino
Verardi.

followed dialogues between Ferdinand and his knights. There was no action in the piece, but couriers and envoys informed the company of all that took place behind the scenes. The whole play is very puerile and rude.¹

Verardi's nephew, Marcellino, wrote a Latin drama, *Ferdinandus Servatus*, taking for subject the escape of the Spanish monarch from the hands of murderers, and the piece was represented by the same Cardinal Riario in April 1492.² These dialogues, so destitute of art, although in themselves apparently a retrogression from the oldest dramatic attempts of the Italians, the tragedies of Albertino Mussato, nevertheless contained the seeds of a future drama. But neither from the religious mysteries nor from the profane spectacles did an Italian national theatre develop. It is more than doubtful whether Church and Inquisition (which were, however, unable to prevent the rise of a Spanish theatre), or the lavish magnificence expended on festivals (which nevertheless had not succeeded in suppressing the Greek theatre), were responsible for the fact that the Italian Renaissance failed to produce a national drama.³ This failure must rather be sought in the

¹ *Caroli Verardi Caesenatis Cubicularii Pontificis Historia Baetica ad R. P. Raphaellem Riarium S. Georgii Diac. Card.*, printed by Euchar. Silber, 1493 (then at Basle, 1533). At the end: *Acta ludis Romanis Innocentio VIII. in solio Petri sedente anno a Natali Salvatoris 1492. XI. Kal. Maii.*

² *Ferdinandus servatus Tragicomedia carmine heroico, auctore Marcellino Verardo cum Praef. prosaica Caroli Verardi ad Petrum Mendosam Archiep. Toletan.* in 4° per Typ. Euch. Silber, sine anno. Audiffredi Catalog. dates the printing in the year 1493.

³ Such are Burckhardt's views in his *Cultur der Renaissance*.

actual national character of the Italians, who apparently are not endowed with profound dramatic insight into human passions. The Renaissance moreover scorned everything that belonged to the people, and supplanted popular productions with the classic comedies of Plautus and Terence.

Cardinal
Rafael
Riario,
patron
of the
dramatic
art.

The ancient comedies were quickly transferred from the hands of the humanists to the stages of princes, especially in Mantua and Ferrara. In Rome it was again the two cardinal nephews of Sixtus IV. who caused Latin dramas to be put upon the stage, and Rafael Riario more particularly thus rendered a great service to literature. Pomponius instigated and encouraged these performances. The members of his Academy even took part in them. Since there was no permanent theatre, the pieces were represented at various places, in the courts of the cardinals' houses, even in that of Pomponius's dwelling, in S. Angelo, the Vatican, once on the Capitol itself, when a nephew of Sixtus IV. was made prefect of the city. Above all, comedies were performed in the courtyard of Riario's palace. The cardinal's stage was portable—a scaffold (*pulpitum*) five feet high with painted decorations. It consequently resembled the stage of the present Pulcinella, and could be erected now in one place, now in another. The spectators sat on rows of wooden seats, protected by awnings from

The stage.

Calderon, who was brought up by the Jesuits, became a priest, and to the same profession, and no other, belonged the greatest Spanish dramatists, such as Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, who was Prior of a convent at Madrid.

the sun. An eye-witness thus describes a theatrical performance in the courtyard of the art-loving cardinal. We see from the place that the number of spectators invited must necessarily have been few. It was hoped that the liberal cardinal would build a permanent theatre in Rome, but the hope remained merely a wish.¹ On the other hand, Ercole I. built a theatre at Ferrara, on the inauguration of which an Italian translation of the *Menaechmi* of Plautus was performed.

¹ Letter of the grammarian Sulpizio of Veroli to Cardinal Rafael Riario. Tirab., vi. ii. 205. In regard to the representation in the courtyard of the Palace (*intra tuos penates*), it says: *tamquam in media Circi cavea toto consessu umbraculis tecto*, by which we are not to suppose that the performance took place in the Circus. *In medio foro pulpitum—exornasti*, is only the Court of the Palace, not the Forum Romanum, as Klein wrongly supposes. As Riario's palace, designed by Bramante, was not yet finished, the Cardinal may have been living either in the house of the Riarii, which was situated where the Palazzo Corsini now stands, or in the Palace of Count Riario (now Altemps).—The first performance of a Latin drama, *Progymnasmata scenica*, was given in Dalberg's house at Heidelberg, under Reuchlin's management, in 1497. Erhard, i. 363.

CHAPTER VII.

- I. THE ART OF THE RENASCENCE—ACTIVITY OF MARTIN V., EUGENIUS IV. AND OF SCARAMPO—THE CAMPO DI FIORE—PALACES—S. ONOFRIO—S. ANTONIO DE' PORTOGHESI — ENGLISH AND GERMAN HOSPITALS —NICHOLAS V.—HIS DESIGN FOR A NEW VATICAN AND S. PETER'S—HIS RESTORATIONS—S. GIACOMO DEGLI SPAGNUOLI—S. SALVATORE IN LAURO—THE CAPITOL—THE AQUA VIRGO—PIUS II.—DESTRUCTION OF LARIANO — THE CHAPEL AT VICOVARO—THE ORSINI PALACE ON THE NAVONA—TORQUEMADA COMPLETES THE MINERVA—PAUL II.—CHURCH AND PALACE OF S. MARCO.

THE reform of learning advanced by slower steps than the progress of the fine arts by which it was accompanied. The Italians devoted themselves to a vigorous realism; the supernatural vanished from their art, while forms assumed more natural and intelligible outlines. Out of the fulness of southern life was evolved a whole realm of joyous beauty, the monumental remains of which, united to those of antiquity, still form the essential art treasures of the human race.

Neo-Latin
art.

Neo-Latin art was moreover more original than neo-classic literature. Beyond some decorative

patterns, painting had no ancient models; it remained essentially the national art of Italy and always maintained its dependence on Christianity. Sculpture, on the contrary, the pagan step-child of the Church, although provided by antiquity with a copious supply of models, stood far in the rear. As for architecture, she had nothing but ruins before her eyes; the temples of Sicily and Greece still remained unheeded or unknown. The Italians naturally enough neither reproduced a temple nor did they build baths or villas after the designs of the ancients; they turned aside from Gothic, which Humanism regarded as barbarous and unnatural, and reverted to classic styles, to the proportions and surfaces of antiquity, to Roman lines and intercolumniations. They borrowed from classic times the wealth of decoration; on the foundations of the mediaeval fortress they built palaces of dignified simplicity with beautiful pillared courtyards, and splendid churches whose cupolas rose boldly in the air like the dome of the Pantheon.

Here Rome exercised great influence, her ruins offering the monumental illustration of the theories of Vitruvius. The admiration which the world of ruins had evoked from pilgrims was succeeded by a practical study of the ancient buildings by artists. From Florence, where neo-Latin architecture took its rise, its great founder Brunelleschi and the sculptor Donatello came to Rome in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and made measurements and drawings. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Filarete, Cyriac, San Gallo, Rosselino, Cronaca,

Influence
of the
ancient
monu-
ments.

Bramantino and many others did likewise.¹ From the study of the ruins of Rome the great Leon Battista Alberti was stirred to write his work *de re aedificatoria*, the admirable foundation of the neo-classic art theories of the early Renaissance. Roman monuments governed the imagination of artists; they now decorated the back-grounds of their pictures and frescoes by preference with representations of Roman porticoes, triumphal arches and temples. Thus Rome became the practical school for Tuscan art, which like learning made its entry from Florence in the train or at the summons of the popes.

Unproductive-
ness of Rome.

For Rome herself was not creative. The genius of antiquity inspired the Romans to dreams of political renaissance, but not to the production of works of art. When their party quarrels were fought out, they sat idle on the rubbish heaps of antiquity and the Middle Ages and allowed their popes to look after them. Foreigners came to bring them books and printing, to build, paint and carve

¹ Brunelleschi frequently stayed in Rome for long periods. *Vita Anonima di Brun.*, ed. Moreni, Flor., 1812. Baldinucci, *Vita di Ser Brun.*—Vasari, iii. Afterwards in the time of Raphael Volaterranus Jacopo of Bologna copied all the bas-reliefs on the column of Trajan, *Magno periculo circum machinis scandendo: Anthropol.*, xxi. 493. The sketch-book of Franc. di Giorgio is preserved at Turin. Concerning the drawings of Roman monuments, see De Rossi, *Piante icnogr.*, p. 95 f. A *Descriptio Urbis Romae* in manuscript by Leon Batt. Alberti in Venice contains puzzling tables of the measurements of localities and monuments in Rome, *ibid.*, p. 130 f.—The drawings of Bramantino (Bartolomeo Suardi) in the Ambrosiana were published by G. Mongeri at Milan in 1875: *Le rovine di Roma al principio del sec. XVI. Studi del Bramantino.*

for them, while their inexhaustible soil gave back to the world the ancient gods and heroes, sages and citizens in marble and bronze—a long procession of antiquity which has not yet reached its end. The unproductiveness of the Romans may partly be explained by the ruin of their artistic energies due to the exile at Avignon and the schism; but the original cause lay deeper, namely in the unnational and at the same time unpolitical character of the capital of the world.¹ The nature of the city also made it impossible to assume an aspect of architectural uniformity; the area was too great for the small population, the ruins too numerous and colossal; and finally the popular spirit inspiring independent development was lacking. Even the finest monuments of the new Italian architecture appeared in Rome accidental, isolated and inorganic. They are personal creations of the ever-changing series of the princes of the Church. Here and there the popes upheld, restored or beautified Rome, which was always falling to decay. The city does not bear the stamp of any definite period, and in this lies her charm.

We shall briefly trace the features of the

¹ Burckhardt (*Renaiss. in Italien*, p. 35) accounts for the unproductiveness of Rome by the malaria, the serious (?) fluctuations in the population during the most momentous periods in art, and the fact that success was only possible with the help of patronage. To me the true causes appear the weakness of the burgher class, which held aloof from politics, the predominance of the clerical over the secular element, the poverty and indolence of the people. The malaria, which in Addison's time was still a bugbear, is now an almost forgotten myth.

Renaissance in Rome, so far as they belong to a historic process. Of the fifteenth century nothing remains at the present day beyond some ecclesiastical buildings, palaces, fortresses and walls. The popes of the restoration restored, the pope-kings built, the citizen class for the most part remained indifferent.

Buildings
under
Martin V.

Martin V. found the streets a morass, the houses ruinous, the Churches falling to decay. The board of the *Magistri Viarum* had come to an end; he revived it in 1425.¹ True, an old biographer of the Pope says that the Romans began to rebuild and restore their houses; but this can only have been done in isolated cases. Martin intended to restore all the parish churches and he exhorted the cardinals to aid him in his design.² Something was accomplished. He rebuilt the Church of the SS. Apostoli, and in an adjacent palace erected a dwelling for himself, which he generally inhabited. He covered the Pantheon anew with sheet-lead. He restored the Quadri-porticus of S. Peter's, which was tottering, and repaired much that was ruinous in the Vatican. He did still more for the basilica of the Lateran, where the mosaic pavement still exists as his memorial. But the ruin of the churches was so universal that Martin left the less important to their fate, and even ordered their valuable marbles to be removed to

¹ Battista Mattei and Bosio de Stinchis, as *magistri viar., pontium, aedificior., banchar., canalium, salubritatis*. . . *Dat. Romae ap. S. Apostolos II. Kal. April. A. VIII.*: Bullar. Roman., i. 246.

² Bonanni, *Numismata Pontif.*, i. Tav. i., gives a medal of Martin with the legend: *Dirutas Ac Labantes Urbis Restaur. Eccles. Columnae Hujus Firma Petra.*

furnish material for the Lateran pavement.¹ Here and there a cardinal restored his titular church ; thus Alfonso Carillo rebuilt the ancient basilica of the Quattro Coronati, which was made smaller on this occasion.² Jean de Rochetaille restored S. Lorenzo in Lucina, a church which was also rebuilt by Cardinal Calandrini under Nicholas V. Martin also rebuilt the Bridge of the Senators.

It was not until after his return from exile that his art-loving successor Eugenius IV. was able to continue this honourable activity. Eugenius restored several churches, also S. Peter's and the Vatican, beside which he founded the building for the Mint. He restored the Lateran palace, and constructed the sacristy and a convent there, in laying the foundations of which the workmen came on several ancient chambers, pavements and beautiful statues, remains of the palace of the *Laterani*.³ It is to be regretted that he first caused the columns and pillars in the Lateran basilica to be walled up. Eugenius also contemplated widening the streets, which then formed an almost inextricable labyrinth. In 1442 the booths which disfigured the portico of the Pantheon were consequently removed and the magnificent columns again exposed to view.⁴ The Piazza in front of the Pantheon and the streets lead-

Under
Eugenius
IV.

The
Pantheon
exposed
to sight.

¹ Brief of July 1, 1425, to Antonio Picardi and Nicolo Bellini, printed in Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt. Rom.*, iii. i. 515.

² The inscription referring to its restoration may still be read on a tower in the courtyard of the church.

³ Blondus, *Roma Instaur.*, i. 85.

⁴ On December 15, 1442, according to Infessura, p. 1129. Blond., *Rom. Inst.*, iii. 66, extols Eugenius on this account.

ing into the Field of Mars were paved with travertine. On this occasion were found the two lions of basalt which now stand in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, and the magnificent porphyry bath that forms the coffin of Clement XII. in the Lateran. At the time this bath was believed to contain the ashes of Augustus, and the fragment of a bronze statue discovered at the Pantheon was held to be that of Agrippa. Eugenius set aside the sum of 325 ducats a year for the repair of the city walls and caused some gates to be restored. He repaired the fortress of Ostia, and under the high altar of the Cathedral of this harbour city, the remains of Monica, mother of Augustine, the great Father of the Church, were discovered and brought to the church of the Augustinians in Rome.

Services
rendered
by Scar-
ampo.

The favourite architect of Eugenius was the Venetian Bregno, or, to call him by his real name, Antonio Riccio¹; his right hand, his Agrippa, so to speak, in all his meritorious activity, was his cardinal-chamberlain Scarampo. Scarampo's predecessor Vitelleschi had destroyed the cities of Latium and built himself a palace in Corneto, but had done nothing worthy of mention for Rome. His sole achievement had been the effort to repopulate the Vatican Borgo, which had fallen entirely to ruin under the raids of King Ladislaus.² Scarampo ren-

¹ See the documents concerning him in Müntz.

² By decree, Rome, April 6, 1437, ratified by Eugenius IV. in Bologna on August 21, 1437. *Ipsaeque domus ipsius Burgi quasi totaliter sint destructae et annihilatae, ac ab ear. alias inhabitantibus derelictae* : Bullar. Vat., ii. 92.

dered greater services to Rome. In his praise it is recorded that he strove to raise the Romans, who were sunk in sloth, to a more civilised condition.¹

To him the city is indebted for the foundation of the Campo di Fiore. This piazza, where the theatre of Pompey had formerly stood, at this time occupied a greater area than it does now. It was called the "Field of Flowers," from the meadow which it enclosed. Until the time of Eugenius, cattle pastured within it.² Scarampo had it paved, and dwelt himself in the neighbouring palace of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. After the time of Eugenius the cardinals in general began to build with zeal. Francesco Condulmer erected a palace on the ruins of the theatre of Pompey, which Cardinal Pietro Isualles adorned with pictures and statues.³ The palace afterwards passed into the hands of the Orsini, and later into those of the Prince Pio of Carpi. Jean le Jeune enlarged a building beside the Arch of Marcus Aurelius on the Via Lata on so large a scale that Blondus called it the finest structure after the Vatican. The Palazzo Fiano now occupies its site.⁴ Beside S. Maria in Via Lata, Nicholas

Founda-
tion of the
Campo di
Fiore.

Palaces
of the
Cardinals.

¹ *Cives Romanos ad omnem ignaviam vitæ collapsos ad cultum civiliorum reducere.* . . . Raph. Volaterr., *Anthropol.*, xxii. 674.

² Andreas Fulvius, iv. 250.

³ He was made Cardinal in 1500, and died 1511. Concerning the palace, see Albertini, *De Mirab. Urbis*, p. 86.

⁴ *Roma Instaur.*, ii. 15. It was afterwards enlarged by Cardinals Calandrini, Giov. Bap. Cibò and the Portuguese Giorgio Costa, from whom the Arch of Marcus Aurelius received the name *di Portogallo*: Albertini, p. 86. I may here express my regret, that hitherto no one has undertaken the task of writing a monumental history of the

Acciapacci built a palace on the spot on which the Palazzo Doria afterwards arose.¹ In the time of Eugenius, Domenico Capranica also began his palace in the neighbourhood of S. Maria in Aquiro; and as it was destined for a school, his brother Angelo, cardinal under Pius II., erected the buildings of the College, which still exist. This Capranica palace, now the oldest remaining building of the early Roman Renaissance, shows in the clearest manner the transition from the Gothic to the neo-Latin style.²

New
churches.

On the Janiculum, in 1439, a new convent church was erected, which was founded by the Roman family de Cupis and Niccolò of Forca Palena, a pious native of Sulmona. Eugenius gave it to the order of the Hieronymites.³ Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chaves founded the Church of the Portuguese, S. Antonio, in the Field of Mars. These national buildings were mainly destined as hospitals for pilgrims and the sick. Thus the English possessed their national institution in the street of S. Maria del Monserrato as early as 1398. And about 1399

city palaces. As regards Bologna, we now possess the meritorious work of Giovanni Gozzadini, *Le Torri Gentilizie di Bologna* (1875).

¹ *Roma Instaur.*, iii. 80.

² Domenico died in 1458. His brother finished the palace in 1460, as the inscription over the doorway still tells us.

³ S. Onofrio was an Egyptian hermit. The hermit order of S. Hieronymus was founded by the Pisan Pietro Gambacorta in 1380. The gravestone of Nicol. de Forca Palena is still preserved in the portico of the church. The church itself owes its fame to its beautiful situation and to the poet Tasso, who found shelter and died in the convent.

were laid the foundations of the German hospital, the later S. Maria dell' Anima.¹

Eugenius IV. was succeeded by the first great restorer of the city, Nicholas V., who was governed by two passions—that of collecting books and that of building. If in one he may be compared to a Ptolemy, in the other he resembled Hadrian. In this Pope, indeed, the grandiose architectural ideas of ancient Romans were revived. He attacked Rome with truly imperial audacity. For the first time since antiquity the city was to assume—at least according to his conception—an architectural unity, and Nicholas V. here displayed genius. The idea which governed him was the modern consciousness of the Renaissance; Rome was to be the imperishable monument of the Church, that is to say, of the Papacy, and was thus to rise in splendour before the eyes of all nations. True, that of his ambitious ideas but little could be carried into execution; they remained designs, but nevertheless they exerted a powerful influence in after times.

Many parts of Rome were depopulated; the quarter between the Arch of Gallienus and S. Vito, S. Maria Maggiore and S. Prassede, stood deserted. Nicholas exhorted the Romans to settle in this district, and in return promised them exemption from all taxes.² He had in mind nothing less than an

Architectural
schemes of
Nicholas V.

¹ In the period of the restoration of the Papacy the pilgrims again had need of such institutions. Blondus (*Roma Inst.*, iii., at the end) reckons the usual number of pilgrims who came to Rome during Lent and Eastertide at 40-50,000, which appears to me scarcely credible.

² Malatesta, *Statuti delle gabelle di Roma*, p. 56 f.

entire restoration of the city; he also cherished an idea, worthy of the Caesars—that of rebuilding the Leonina and of emulating the Palatine in the Vatican. He determined to build like a Roman pope-king. He began by degrees, until the receipts of the jubilee allowed him to employ colossal means. Rome seemed nothing but a theatre of building operations—a gigantic workshop; troops of artisans and labourers streamed to the city and formed whole colonies. Lombard artists and engineers, more especially, came in crowds.¹ Building contractors entered into contracts with wealthy, extravagant capitalists eager for building, speculating on a grand scale, such as had not been seen in Rome for centuries. Travertine was quarried at Tivoli and laboriously conveyed to the city, perhaps even brought by boats down the Anio, the bed of which must have been cleansed for the purpose. At the same time the walls of the city were repaired, bridges restored, towers of defence erected, churches rebuilt, the foundations of the new Vatican laid. The activity was feverish. The Pope was tortured at one and the same time by the thought of approaching death and by thirst for fame.

Restoration of the city walls.

In 1451 he caused the walls of Rome to be restored, and in places they still show the modest arms of the Pope. He strengthened the Milvian Bridge by a tower, and the Nomentan Bridge-fortress still bears the aspect which he gave it. Even the Capitol was re-fortified. Scarcely any other pope built so

¹ A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei secoli 15, 16, e 17*. Milan, 1881, i. 13.

many fortresses as this fortunate bookworm. He laid the foundations of the strongholds of Narni and Orvieto, and caused Albornoz's castle in Spoleto to be enlarged, in order that an expulsion such as that suffered by Eugenius IV. might never again be repeated. While Nicholas surveyed the long series of popes who had fled from Rome, he came to the conclusion that they would never have suffered such fate had they been protected by sufficient fortresses. Henceforward the Papacy was to be defended against inward revolutions by the Vatican stronghold. The bridge of S. Angelo, from which he removed the booths, was protected by walls that flanked the fortress, and this fortress also he strengthened. The celebrated Alberti designed a plan for a roof which was to be made to the bridge, but the scheme was not carried out. The entire Borgo was now to be fortified, the new Vatican was to tower within it like the Papal citadel at Avignon. Nicholas V., in fact, began to erect a wall round the palace and to construct the clumsy round tower at the Porta Viridaria.

Building of fortresses.

The history of Rome, of mankind, or of the Papacy may perhaps explain and be responsible for the sight of the high priest of religion entrenched behind walls, towers, and fire-vomiting bombards. So much is certain, that since Nicholas V. determined to unite his system of fortifications of the Vatican with a complete reconstruction of the Leonine city, he felt the contradiction in which he was placed between the suspicious requirements of a prince and his spiritual dignity. The ruinous Borgo

Plan for
rebuilding
the
Leonine.

was to become a gigantic papal city. From a piazza in front of S. Angelo, three streets forming the Vicus Curialis were to lead to the piazza of S. Peter's, with six great porticoes, covered markets, workshops for artists, and banks of exchange. He contemplated the Pope and the entire Curia dwelling in the most magnificent of palaces, a combination of sumptuous buildings and parks. The palace was not to have its equal on the earth. He would even construct a theatre for the imperial coronations, a hall of conclave, and a theatre for spectacles. The papal fortress was to be entered through a splendid triumphal gate.

S. Peter's

A new cathedral with a lofty cupola, in the form of a Latin cross, with two towers in front of the vestibule and spacious buildings at each side for the clergy, was to be erected in the place of the ancient basilica. On the piazza in front it was intended to place the obelisk, bearing a figure of Christ, and itself resting on a bronze pedestal with four colossal bronze statues of the apostles. To the Bolognese Ridolfo Fioravante, nicknamed Aristotle, was due the design of this erection.

and the
Vatican.

The whole of the new city, with cathedral and palace, with churches, convents, fountains, gardens, porticoes and libraries, Nicholas wished to surround with a wall with lofty towers, so that the papal fortress, as Manetti had said, should only be accessible to the birds of heaven; and he took pleasure in the thought of enthroning himself in this fortress like a great Asiatic monarch in his paradise. In truth, he contemplated surpassing all the Seven

Wonders of the world, and acquiring the fame of a Solomon, who built the King's Palace and the Temple at the same time.¹ The ambitious design was based on the plans of the imperial buildings of the Fora and the Thermae. But since he was unfortunately not able to carry the design into execution, it is only important as one of the most colossal schemes of the Roman Middle Ages. The popes for the rest had no cause to complain that it remained merely an idea; had they retired into a marble fortress such as was conceived, they would have attained the prestige of a European Dalai Lama, but would have been compelled to renounce Rome. The Italians may consequently lament that this withdrawal of the Papacy to the Leonina, of which S. Bridget had already dreamt, was not realised.

The execution of the plan which Manetti has described would have exhausted the reigns of several popes and the treasures of Rhampsinitus, and from it we may perceive the extent of the resources on which a pope of that age could rely. Nicholas employed for his designs the services of the Florentine Bernardo Gambarelli, surnamed Rosellino, and still more of the gifted Leon Battista Alberti, when Alberti came to Rome and through Blondus was admitted to the friendship of the Pope. Here in 1452 Alberti showed him his book on architecture, the first work of the kind since that of Vitruvius,²

¹ Manetti, *Vita*, p. 937. Vasari, iii. 220.

² *De re aedificatoria*, *Op. Volg. di L. B. Alberti*, iv., ed. Bonucci. This work, however, was not published during Alberti's life. It was first printed in Florence in 1485. Karl Hoffmann, *Studien zu*

and his views on art, hostile as they were to Gothic architecture and mediaevalism, inaugurated a new age in architecture, which began with Nicholas V.

Destruction of the
Templum
Probi.

This—the first—resolve to rebuild S. Peter's is highly momentous, presupposing, as it did, the destruction of the ancient cathedral and consequently the courageous breach with a sacred tradition. On the north side, where it rested on the foundations of the Circus of Caligula, the ancient basilica was in a threatening condition and showed serious cracks. It thus afforded Nicholas a pretext for his ambitious scheme. Nevertheless he did not begin his work at the threatened part, which long remained standing, but at the choir.¹ He caused the ancient Templum Probi to be ruthlessly destroyed, in order to build the new tribune, and the sepulchral chapel of the Anicii consequently vanished. But for the fact that it was seen and described by Maffeo Vegio, we should no longer have any idea of its aspect.² At the time of Nicholas's death the tribune was only a few feet high ; of the new Vatican, the present chapel of S. Lorenzo, which appears originally to have been the workroom of the Pope, was finished, and of the huge pile of the palace of Nicholas III. only a series

L. B. Alberti's zehn Büchern de re aedificatoria, 1883. Alberti went to Sigism. Malatesta, for whom he designed the Cathedral at Rimini. He died in Rome in 1472. Müntz shows Antonio di Francesco of Florence to have been *Ingegnere di palazzo* with Rosellino under Eugenius IV.

¹ Müntz, i. 118 sq. Grimaldi's report.

² The sarcophagus of Probus was found at this time ; also the sarcophagi of Proba and Juliana, which then perished. Vegio copied the inscriptions.

of rooms existed in a rough state; the lower floor of this group was afterwards completed by Alexander VI., while the upper floor contains the celebrated *stanze*. At the death of Nicholas it was surrounded by walls and trenches, outlines of gigantic designs and already ruins in their infancy.¹

In Rome itself he completed the restoration of almost all the forty station churches. He repaired S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Maria Maggiore, besides the adjacent palace of S. Prassede, S. Lorenzo outside the walls, and S. Paul's.² He rebuilt S. Teodoro. The Spanish Church of S. Jacopo on the Navona, founded by Alfonso Paradinas, Bishop of Rodrigo, in 1450, was erected anew. About the same time the wealthy Cardinal Latino Orsino founded the Church and Convent of S. Salvatore in Lauro. He presented it to the congregation of S. Giorgio in Alga, and left it as a bequest his valuable library. This was burnt during the sack of Rome in 1527.

On the Capitol Nicholas apparently restored the entire palace of the Senate which had fallen to decay.³ He rebuilt the palace of the conservators, and the

Restoration of churches.

The Palace of the Conservatori rebuilt.

¹ Aeneas Sylvius, *Europ.*, c. 54 : *cujus opera si compleri potuissent, nulli veterum imperatorum magnificentiae cessura videbantur, sed jacent adhuc aedificia sicut ruinae muror. ingentes.*

² In spite of the restorations of Martin and Eugenius, Alberti found half of the churches in ruin ; he counted 2500, which is absurd. *De Architettura*, viii. c. 5, Italian edition, Bologna, 1782.

³ *Grande parte cascato*, says Giov. Rucellai about 1450 in his report of the jubilee. Illustration in Cock, *Oper. antiquor. romanor. hinc inde per diversas Europae regiones extructor. reliquae* — a. 1562. See Sadler, *Il nuovo Theatro* (1665). We may still see the arms of Nicholas V. on the tower facing the Forum.

mediaeval Capitol thus acquired a modern aspect.¹ Highly meritorious was the restoration of the Aqua Virgo, which, however, was already in use under Eugenius IV., and of all the ancient aqueducts was the only one of service at the time. Nicholas caused the mouth of this aqueduct (which ran for the most part underground) to be ornamented with a simple fountain, and from the junction of the three roads at which it stood it received the name of Trevi. Sixtus completed the work, the plan of which had been conceived by the great artists Alberti and Rosellino. But it was Clement XII. who caused the present façade of the fountain to be designed by Niccolò Salvi, and the curious construction was only consecrated by Benedict XIV. in 1744.

Nicholas desired to adorn with monuments not only Rome, but also the State of the Church. He caused buildings to be erected, piazzas laid out and churches restored in Viterbo and Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, Gualdo and Fabriano. No pope, indeed, had built so much since the time of the Carolingians. In his self-satisfaction he caused a medal to be issued with a view of the city encircled with walls and the ancient inscription *Roma Felix*.²

This thirst for building meanwhile found severe critics, such as the fanatical Minorite Capistrano. The Pope was censured for allowing Byzantium to remain under Turkish rule, while he spent millions on books and stones. Earnest Christians might

¹ Cock, *ut supra*; the drawing, it is true, was made after 1538. See the oft-quoted treatise of Re on the Capitol, Tav. xv.

² See Bonanni, *Numismata*, i. 48.

doubt whether a love of building worthy of the Caesars testified more to the greatness or to the littleness of a pope, but from another point of view imperial extravagance on so large a scale is a meritorious quality. It exercises an influence in the field of culture, and prevents mankind sinking into the pettiness of measuring everything by the standard of utility. Rome has always preserved this impulse of monumental grandeur, first under the emperors, then under the gifted pontiffs who followed in their wake.¹ The reaction against these ambitious architectural schemes was initiated by the successor of Nicholas V., and principally in consequence of the fall of Byzantium. Calixtus III., who converted the valuable table service of his predecessor into money, despised his erections, and abandoned their materials to the Romans. He only continued the work of rebuilding the city walls and finished the tower of the Ponte Molle.² Of churches, S. Prisca alone owes its restoration to his hands.³

Pius II. also only admired the genuine Roman spirit of Nicholas V. without sharing it. The reconquest of S. Sophia was a higher duty than the task of rebuilding S. Peter's. The monuments of Pius II. are found not in Rome but in Siena and

Buildings
of Pius II.

¹ Petty-minded financiers also criticise as useless luxury the reconstruction of S. Paul's outside the walls. Happily such extravagance in marble still exists in our days.

² On the arch of the doorway, with the inscription *Calixtus P. P. III. MCCCCLVIII.* The present tower dates from the year 1805.

³ His inscription and coat of arms are seen inside the church. *Restituit solum S. Priscas in Aventino templum, et Moenia. Urbis dirupta ac fere solo aequata* : Platina.

Pienza, which he adorned with palaces and a cathedral designed by Rosellino. He cleared S. Peter's by having a tabernacle and tombs removed from the nave to the side aisles; he also built in the basilica a chapel to S. Andrew, restored the great staircase of the atrium, and began the loggia for the bestowal of the benediction, for which he removed seven columns from the portico of Octavia.¹ When he restored Castel Gandolfo and the fortress of the Savelli, he did so probably from an antiquarian whim; he built the fortress at Tivoli for strategic reasons, and for this purpose he ruthlessly destroyed the ancient amphitheatre in order to utilise it as a quarry. On the other hand, he ordered one of the oldest fortresses of Latium to be pulled down. This was Lariano on the Algidus, long a possession of the Anibaldi, then of the Colonna, rebuilt by Cardinal Prospero, in 1462, and on his death surrendered by his sister Vittoria to Cardinal Piccolomini. Pius II. caused this fortress to be destroyed, and Alexander VI. afterwards presented the territory which had belonged to it to the town of Velletri. Pius wished to make the Anio navigable, and also to clear the harbour of Hadrian (Portus), a project which he did not carry out. While on his excursions through the valley of the Anio he may have admired the Chapel of S. Jacopo which Francesco Orsini had begun about 1450, and which had been finished by Francesco's nephew John, Bishop of Trani. It still remains uninjured, the solitary monument of a Roman baron's love of art — a chapel with an

Destruction of
Lariano.

The chapel
at Vico-
vara.

¹ *Commentar.*, p. 985. All these works have perished.

octagonal dome and a beautiful doorway and highly decorated with figures. The architect was a pupil of Brunelleschi.¹ Francesco Orsini, Count of Tagliacozzo, first Count of Gravina and Conversano, and also Prefect of the city, finished the ancient palace of the Mosca at the end of the Navona in the city itself. After several alterations this Orsini palace was converted into the present Palazzo Braschi.²

To the time of Pius II. also belong the buildings of Cardinal Torquemada in the Minerva, where he added the cloisters and decorated them with paintings. He also finished the roof of the Church and the Chapel of the Annunciation. He was aided by the Savelli and Gaetani and by the same Francesco Orsini, who finished the Minerva at his own expense.³

Torque-
mada's
buildings
in the
Minerva.

In 1455, while still Cardinal, Paul II. began the building of his palace of S. Marco on a scale so genuinely Roman as had hitherto been unexampled in the case of a Cardinal's dwelling.⁴ A princely court would have been required to fill this ponderous building; it was never finished, but even incom-

The Palace
of S.
Marco.

¹ Simone, who died at Vicovaro (Vasari, *Vita di Brunell.*), or Domenico da Capodistria, as the note appended observes. The inscription on the chapel says: *Taliacociadae Comites Ursina Propago Fundavere Sacrum Devota Mente Sacellum. Hanc Heres Trani Praesul De Prole Joannes Divo Jacobo Tibi Merita Pietate Dicavit.* Pius II. says that Francesco died (1456) while the work was in progress: *Comment.*, p. 167.

² Adinolfi, *La via sacra*, Rome, 1865, p. 22.

³ Donatus, *De Urbe Roma*, iii. c. 9. The inscription of the Orsini relating to it of the year 1453 still remains on the façade of the church.

⁴ *Hanc arcem condidit A. Christi 1455*, says a medal which displays a model of the palace, in Bonanni, *Num.*, i. 71.

plete it remains one of the greatest monuments of Rome, standing on the confines of mediaeval and modern times. The battlements and the unfinished tower still remind us of the Middle Ages. Gothic has disappeared. The elevations show on the lower story arched windows of the Roman type, on the upper the rectangular windows of the Renaissance. The whole reveals a grandiose character of fortress-like strength and solemn severity; gloomy power without grace. The main ornament was to be the columned courtyard, and this, had it been completed, as it was the first of the kind in Rome, would assuredly have been also the most magnificent. The architect built the arcades in the larger court on pilasters formed of half columns, for which the style of the Colosseum had served as model. Thus the style of half pillars was again adopted in Rome. Several artists were employed on this cardinal's fortress, Giacomo da Pietrasanta, Bernardo di Lorenzo, Vellano of Padua, but our information concerning them is doubtful.¹ The building swallowed up immense sums; the director of the works was brought to trial, but was acquitted. The Pope him-

¹ According to Vasari (iii. 4) Giuliano da Majano built both palace and church; Giuliano, however, was only born in 1432. In the life of Paul II. by Gaspar, Francisc. Burgensis (*Borgo di S. Sepolero*) is mentioned as the architect. Marini, *Archiatrì*, ii. 199, however, shows that the architect was Bernardo di Lor. of Florence, with whom Paul II. concluded a contract for building on March 25, 1466 (Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii. n. 386). F. di Borgo, papal chamberlain, was merely the administrator of the building. The architect of the oldest portions of the palace seems to have been Giacomo da Pietrasanta: E. Müntz, *Le Palais de Venise à Rome* (in Italian) in *Studi in Italia. a VII.*, vol. i. fasc. ii.

self plundered for his palace ancient monuments, the very Colosseum itself, and it is probable that he not only made use of the fallen ruins, but also permitted parts which remained standing to be destroyed.¹ After the Hospital of the Salvatore had become the owner and guardian of the Colosseum, this confraternity possessed a right over the fallen blocks of stone, which they were accustomed to sell for the benefit of the hospital.²

Even while a cardinal Paul II. had inhabited the palace of S. Marco ; as Pope he placed within it his splendid collection of antiquities, and from its windows watched the races of the Carnival, from which the Via Lata received the name of Corso. His nephew, Marco Barbo, added to the palace, and the cardinals Lorenzo Cibò and Domenico Grimani, the latter a celebrated patron and collector of art like Paul II. himself, made further additions. Paul III. connected the palace by a covered corridor with the papal summer residence on Ara Coeli. It was, moreover, the property of the popes until 1564, when Pius IV. made it over to the Venetian republic in

¹ Vasari, iv. 5, asserts that he removed an *infinità di travertini* from the foundations of the Colosseum ; Lorenzo Medici uttered like reproaches ; Fabroni, i. 40 ; Jovius, *Histor.*, ii. 41. — See also references in Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, vol. ii. 49 f.

² In the *Catasto* of the property of the hospital, *Archives S. Sanctor.*, written by Marcantonio Altieri, A.D. 1525, we read that by donation of the Popes, more especially Nicholas V., this Company was *domina e custode del Colisseo ; el che per assai chiar se mantiene, havendo potesta de tutte tevertine de quello ruinassi posserne fare si come ali guardiani li paressi per darne allo hospitale miglior luchro et proficto*. Thus was the greatest monument of their city shamefully sacked by the Romans themselves.

exchange for a house in Venice which was ceded to the papal nuncio. Henceforward the magnificent halls of the Palazzo Venezia were inhabited by the envoys of the illustrious republic and the cardinals of S. Marco, finally by the Austrian ambassadors. And even now, after the loss of Venice, this palace still remains the property of Austria. Thus of the ancient rights of the Imperium which the German nation had possessed over Italy and Rome since the time of Charles the Great, nothing remains but a single palace.

Giuliano
da Majano,
architect.

Paul II. also caused the basilica of S. Marco to be completed, bringing it within the precincts of the palace.¹ The most noteworthy feature is the beautiful portico of travertine. Giuliano da Majano is said to have been the architect. The same artist also worked in the Vatican, where he restored the tribune of S. Peter's, completed the loggia for the benediction, and built a splendid courtyard with three colonnades over one another. This cortile also perished in later restorations.²

¹ He adorned the Piazza di S. Marco with two baths; one of serpentine which had stood in front of S. Giacomo at the Colosseum was removed to the piazza on January 27, 1466; the second, the celebrated porphyry sarcophagus from S. Costanza, was erected opposite S. Marco on August 19, 1467. Cola di Ponte, MS. The sarcophagus of Costanza, now in the Vatican, was brought back to the church dedicated to the saint by Sixtus IV. The half-length figure of Madonna Lucrezia may possibly have already been erected beside the palace at this time.

² Vasari, iv. 4, in whose time the cortile may still have existed; within it were the *Dataria* and the *Ufficio del piombo*. Paul II. also caused the Capitoline palace, more particularly the Tabularium, which served as a salt magazine, and the prisons to be repaired, as Müntz has shown.

2. BUILDINGS OF SIXTUS IV.—STREETS—PONTE SISTO—S. SPIRITO—LIBRARY AND CHAPEL—S. MARIA DEL POPOLO; DELLA PACE—S. AGOSTINO—S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI—SANTI APOSTOLI—GROTTA FERRATA—THE FORTRESS OF OSTIA — PALACE OF COUNT RIARIO; OF CARDINAL DOMENICO ROVERE IN THE BORGO — PALACE OF THE GOVERNO VECCHIO—BUILDINGS OF INNOCENT VIII.—S. MARIA IN VIA LATA—FOUNTAINS ON THE PIAZZA OF S. PETER'S—BELVEDERE — VILLA MALLIANA — BUILDINGS OF ALEXANDER VI. — S. MARIA IN MONSERRATO—S. TRINITÀ DEI MONTI—S. ROCCO—S. MARIA DELL' ANIMA — S. ANGELO—VIA ALESSANDRINA—PORTA SETTIMANA — APPARTAMENTO BORGIA—SAPIENZA—PALAZZO SFORZA-CESARINI — PALACES OF THE CARDINALS RAFAEL RIARIO AND ADRIAN CASTEL-LESI.

Twice did art assume an entirely individual character in Rome: in its middle period under Sixtus IV., in its most perfect form under Julius II. and Leo X.

Sixtus, so appalling as a priest, showed himself ^{Work of Sixtus IV.} towards the city a highly meritorious prince, and, like Sixtus V., in after times impressed on Rome the stamp of the age. He was the first to bestow upon it a modern aspect, for Rome had hitherto been probably one of the least habitable of Italian cities. Scarcely any of the streets were paved. Sixtus ordered the principal thoroughfares to be paved with tiles.¹ The streets were frequently so

¹ Probably with tiles laid on edge, as in the Roman provincial towns in present times. *Urbem R. quam Augustus e latericia*

narrow that two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast, and were crowded by porticoes and projecting wooden balconies. When King Ferrante came to Rome in 1475 he advised the Pope, for strategic reasons, to abolish the existing state of things.¹ But not until five years later did Sixtus enter on the work with energy. He appointed an official under the chamberlain Estouteville, giving him authority to pull down houses wherever the widening of the streets required it.² The stalls of the armourers at the Ponte S. Angelo were cleared away as early as January 1480. The Romans at first opposed this innovation, then agreed to what proved a real advantage.³ The enlargements of Sixtus would probably seem very primitive at the present day, when the narrowness of the Roman streets frequently causes surprise; nevertheless they were a great advance on former times. The main artery of traffic at this period, the Via Papalis, which led from the Ponte S. Angelo through the Field of Mars, was improved by Sixtus; he restored the

Widening
of the
streets.

marmoream, Sixtus e lutea latericiam fecit: Aegidius, Hist., xx.; Saecul., p. 312. Senarega de reb. Genuens. Mur., xxiii. 532. Corio, p. 416.

¹ Infessura, p. 1145. These projecting buildings were called *Porticali* and *Mignani*, as they still are (from *menianum*). In the Bull of 1480 Sixtus calls them *porticus et prosellia*.

² Rome, June 30, 1480. Bullar. Rom., i. 324. The newly-appointed *Magistri aedificior. et stratar. urbis* were Francesco Porcari and Battista Staglia.

³ Senarega, p. 532. A Cenci opposed it, when *in trivio Messariorum prope Pontem Adriani veteres porticus in Urbis ornatum demoliebantur*. The Pope immediately ordered his house to be pulled down: Jacob. Volaterr., A.D. 1482.

Via Florea or Florida¹; he also made a street from the Bridge of S. Angelo to the Vatican, the Via Sistina. In September 1477 Estouteville removed the market from the Capitol to the Piazza Navona.² The traffic with Trastevere was facilitated by the new construction of the Janiculan bridge, which was first called Ponte Rotto, afterwards Ponte Sisto. Ponte Sisto. On April 29, 1473, the Pope, standing in a boat, laid the first stone and deposited some gold coins in the foundations. The bridge was finished for the jubilee of 1475. The work, although coarse and heavy, is so strong that it still endures uninjured.³

To all who wished to build houses in the city or district Sixtus gave the right of ownership.⁴ Several Romans, especially cardinals, profited by the encouragement, and building was so briskly carried on that the city soon acquired a new aspect. We still frequently come across the oak tree, Sixtus' armorial emblem. Vasari speaks of Baccio Pontelli, Baccio Pontelli, architect. one of the best of Florentine masters before Bramante, as the Pope's favourite architect; but the statement is incorrect, since Pontelli was only employed in Rome during Sixtus's later years. The buildings of Sixtus, although distinguished by purity of form and simple and beautiful proportions,

¹ It was then a street which seems to have led sideways from the Campo di Fiori to the Palazzo Spada.

² Cancellieri, *Il Mercato*, p. 15.

³ Infessura, p. 1143. *Vita Sixti IV.*, p. 1064.—The Ponte Sisto was widened in 1878, and consequently lost its historic character. The ancient travertine bridge at the Marmorata, which was believed to be that of Cocles, was pulled down in 1484.

⁴ Edict of January 1, 1474. Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii. n. 407.

are devoid of grandeur. These works, which bear the stamp of a new era, are characterised by the cross-shaped vaulting, the octagonal columns and pillars, the sharp contours of the mouldings, the modest simplicity of the wall-surfaces and façades. The style is still restrained, austere and reserved, but clear. We may call it the neo-Latin style. These buildings, like many of the writings of the Humanists, stand midway between Gothic and classicism. Similar too is the sculpture of the age of Sixtus, the Latin forms of which are invariably impressed on a mediaeval background.

As early as 1471 Sixtus began rebuilding the Hospital of S. Spirito. This structure, which on one side displays an open-columned portico of thirty-six arches, no longer retains its original form. The courtyards still bear Sixtus' coat of arms, and the great sick-room still shows the remains of the frescoes of his time, to which Platina appended mottoes.¹ The octagonal cupola with the pointed window arches, which still adhered to the Gothic, is unaltered, as also the beautiful tower of the Church of S. Spirito, which Peter Mathaeus, Master of the Hospital, had built in 1471, during the reign of Paul II.² The Roman hospital, large and suited to its purpose, but without grandeur, does not as a building bear comparison with the admirable Ospedale Grande of Milan, which was begun by Filarete in 1456. The old confraternity of S. Spirito had fallen to

¹ Printed in Ciacconius' *Life of Sixtus IV.* See also *Vita Sixti*, Mur., iii. ii. 1065.

² Forcella, *Iscrizioni d. chiese*, vi. 1173.

decay. Eugenius IV. restored it in 1446, and Eugenius' bull was ratified by Sixtus on March 21, 1478, after the rebuilding of the hospital was begun. With their own hands the Pope and his cardinals inscribed themselves as members in the book of the confraternity, which is still preserved as a treasure in the archives of S. Spirito. Admission to the confraternity henceforward became the fashion, so that there was scarcely a foreign prince of renown who, in person or by deputy, did not sign his name in the book.¹

Sixtus proposed to make great additions to the Vatican, but only finished the library and the court chapel. The library was a suite of rooms on the ground floor, formed of halls with cross vaulting, and stood on the court of the Papagallo; it now serves merely as a storehouse for the articles of the household. In 1473, directly above it the Pope built the chapel which bears his name. More a Sistine library. hall than a church, simple to barrenness, it seems Sistine chapel. nothing more than the beautifully decorated scene for papal functions. It breathes no air of religious feeling. And only to its purpose and to Michael Angelo's paintings does the Sistina owe the fact that it has become the most celebrated chapel in the world.²

Sixtus caused several churches to be rebuilt. If

¹ *Liber fraternitatis Sti Spiritus*, 370 fol., parchment, a remarkable collection of autographs.

² The Florentine architect, Giovanni de' Dolci, was also employed on the chapel, as Eugene Müntz proves: *Giov. de' Dolci*. . . . Rome, 1880.

S. Maria
del Popolo.

among them none is distinguished by architectural merit, they serve at any rate to grace Rome as museums of the art of the age and of succeeding times. The Pope's favourite work was S. Maria del Popolo, a vaulted building with a nave and two aisles, with half columns, an octagonal cupola, and a simple façade adorned with pilasters. The spot was already occupied by a convent-church, which, according to legend, had been built by Paschalis II. about 1099, after a demon-haunted nut-tree, which stood on Nero's grave, had been cut down by his orders. For the celebrated tomb of the Domitii, in which the ashes of Nero had been secretly buried, stood on the Pincio above the church.¹ Sixtus restored this church after 1472, and also built the Augustinian convent beside it. Henceforward S. Maria del Popolo became the favourite Church of Renaissance times, was gradually filled with magnificent tombs adorned with masterpieces of painting, and in it the popes frequently executed their political documents.² At the same time Sixtus rebuilt the tower of the Porta Flaminia, making use of the stones of several monuments which stood both inside and outside the gate, more especially those of the ancient Meta or tomb-pyramid.³

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 50.

² Jacobus de Albericis, *Hist. S. Virg. Deiparae de Popolo*, Rome, 1599. Ambrogio Landucci, *Orig. del Tempio dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Maria*, Rome, 1646. The present convent was built by Pius VII. ; the earlier one was pulled down in order to make way for the gardens of the Pincio.

³ In 1877, when the work of pulling down the towers of the Porta del Popolo was begun, several ancient marble fragments and inscrip-

Sixtus was unable to complete a second church to the Virgin, that of S. M. della Pace, which was only finished by Innocent VIII. Here Bramante designed the convent erected by Cardinal Olivieri.¹ S. Maria della Pace.

Following the example set by the Pope, cardinals restored their titular churches. On November 1, 1479, Estouteville laid the foundation stone of S. Agostino, a church with a cupola, nave, and two aisles, which was also adorned by a beautifully decorated marble doorway. The magnificent cardinal, who inhabited the neighbouring palace of S. Apollinare, now the Seminario Romano, built by Pedro de Luna, has left in this Augustinian church a work of Giacomo da Pietrasanta, a monument to himself. He also restored S. Maria Maggiore, furnished it with costly vessels, and adorned the high altar with four porphyry columns, which still remain. As Bishop of Ostia he restored the walls of this town, built houses and streets within it, and began the little cathedral of S. Aurea. He also built the episcopal palace in Velletri. S. Agostino.

Two churches and two convent palaces—S. Pietro in Vincoli and SS. Apostoli—from beginning to end are monuments of the Rovere. The two popes of this time were discovered in the masonry: Visconti and Vespignani, *Delle scoperte avvenute per la demol. delle Torri della P. Flaminia, Bull. della Comm. Arch. Comun.*, 1877, v. 184 f.

¹ Although altered, several other churches show the Sistine style. Vitale, Nereus and Achilleus, Quirico, Salvatore at the Ponte Rotto, Susanna, the Oratorium Margherita beside S. Croce, Cosma e Damiano in Trastevere, S. Sisto on the Via Appia. The ground plan of S. Pietro in Montorio also belongs to this period. A. Ferri, *Architettura in Roma nei secoli XV. e XVI.*, Rome, 1867. A history of the Renaissance of the city of Rome is wanting.

the house, Sixtus IV. and Julius II., were cardinals of the ancient basilica of Eudoxia, and both restored it. More especially Pope Julius, when cardinal, built the vestibule according to a plan of Pontelli's, and ordered Giuliano da Sangallo to erect the convent with the cloister. The nephew of Sixtus IV. dwelt in the convent palace already built by his uncle, and occasionally received illustrious guests such as Federigo of Urbino and Christian of Denmark within its walls. But as Cardinal Cusa had added to the building, it is uncertain how much of the basilica of S. Pietro in Vincoli belongs to this period.

SS.
Apostoli.

Julian Rovere also erected the portico of SS. Apostoli in the same style (that of Pontelli), and completed the convent attached to the Church which Pietro Riario had begun; he also built the Colonna palace on the other side.¹ As provost of Grotta Ferrata he restored the entirely ruinous convent, making it a fortress by the addition of walls and towers. This convent stronghold still retains the form given to it by Julian, as does the celebrated fortress of Ostia. For this latter stronghold on the Tiber, the most beautiful of all the Roman fortresses, is also the work of Cardinal Julian. It now stands against its background of gloomy pinewoods, entirely deserted and desolate, between the ruins of ancient Ostia and the Tiber, which here flows amid melancholy wastes and salt marshes to the sea. The landscape is of so solemn and epic a character that the

Grotta
Ferrata
and Ostia.

¹ *Omitto ea quae sunt in aedibus columnensium fundatis a tua beatitudine*, says Albertini, on p. xl of his book, *de mirab. urbis*, dedicated to Julius II.

imagination of the traveller may easily picture it peopled with the mythic creations of Homer or Virgil. Pius II. has given a description of this dreary coast, which he visited as the guest of Estouteville, when the Cardinal apparently had already begun the fortress which his successor della Rovere caused to be completed by Giuliano da Sangallo. The structure, begun in 1483 and finished in 1486, was soon to be his shelter from the hatred of Alexander VI.¹

Chiefly owing to his nephews, new and in part magnificent palaces arose during the time of Sixtus. Death alone prevented the libertine Pietro Riario from completing his sumptuous palace beside SS. Apostoli. On a smaller scale Julian continued what his brother cardinal had begun. Count Riario built a beautiful house, with gardens, in the Campo Marzo, where the Palazzo Altemps now stands, and owned a villa on the Janiculum, on the spot where the Palazzo Corsini was afterwards erected.² Another nephew, Domenico Rovere, built the huge palace in the Borgo, where the *Penitenzieri* of S. Peter's now dwell—a somewhat bare work of Pontelli, with

Riario
Palace.

Palace of
Domenico
Rovere.

¹ Guglielmotti, *Della rocca d'Ostia e delle condiziona dell' arte militare in Italia prima della calata di Carlo VIII.*, Rome, 1862. For the inscriptions in the fortress see *Giornale Arcad.*, vol. 139.

² Adinolfi, *La Torre de' Sanguigni e S. Apollinare*, Rome, 1863. On May 26, 1483, Count Riario presented this palace to his son Octavian, in case of his death to his second son Caesar, and in case of Caesar's death to his third son Galeazzo. The palace was always to descend to the eldest son; if they failed, it was to revert to the Hospital of S. Salvatore. He calls the palace *aedes suas et palatium honorificentiss. per ips. constructum . . . juxta plateam S. Apollinaris. Reg. Beneimbene cart.*, 501.

a spacious courtyard surrounded by octagonal columns. The inlaid work of the roof and the remains of the painted decoration in the interior show the former splendour of the palace, which is now disfigured by surrounding buildings. In the time of Julius II. it was inhabited and beautified by Cardinal Francesco Alidosi of Imola.¹ All these works of the cardinals were inspired by artistic feeling and a love of splendour. Emulating the ancient Romans, they adorned their houses with antique sculpture, with wall paintings of modern art and Flemish tapestries; they filled them with costly vessels of gold and silver, and provided them with libraries. The huge extent of the city, the world-historic atmosphere which filled it, and the self-consciousness of priestly power impressed these structures more or less with a character of greatness; and this fact causes the contrast between these "islands" and the houses of the Roman proletariat, blackened as the latter were with the stains of centuries, to appear all the harsher. We enter the palace built by Cardinal Stefano Nardini for himself in 1475, and afterwards destined in part for an educational institution, only to be amazed at the vastness of such a structure. This house, now called the Governo Vecchio, because it was made the residence of the Governor of Rome, has fallen to

Palace of
Cardinal
Stefano
Nardini.

¹ Albertini, *De Mirab.* An inscription in the palace says:

Stet domus haec donec fluctus formica marinos

Ebibat, et totum testudo perambulet orbem.

Domenico Rovera bequeathed the half of his palace to the Hospital of S. Spirito, another part to the Chapter of S. Peter: Will of April 23, 1503, in the Archives of S. Spirito.

decay, but its massive character is still shown by the double courtyard with columns and the magnificent doorway. It is the last of the Roman palaces which bears something of the character of a mediaeval fortress.¹

The time of Sixtus IV. marks the zenith of Roman architectural activity in the fifteenth century. It was continued, it is true, under his two successors, but no longer on so great a scale.

Innocent VIII. caused S. Maria in Via Lata to be rebuilt, when the triumphal Arch of Diocletian was destroyed.² He adorned the Piazza of S. Peter's with a fountain with two large round basins one over the other, one of which still serves as a basin for the fountain on the right of the obelisk. The fountains then stood in front of the papal palace on the side of the Porta Angelica.³ Innocent's finest work, the Villa Belvedere, was erected after the design of Antonio Pollajuolo. This summer-house still exists in the Vatican gardens. A square building with battlements, it was connected by a lateral wall with the round tower of Nicholas V., and thus

S. Maria in
Via Lata.

The Villa
Belvedere.

¹ On June 4, 1450, it was presented by *Stef. de Nardinis de Forlivio presb. card. tit. S. M. in Transtib. Mediolanensis vulgar. nuncupatus* to the *societas hospitalis sacratiss. ymaginis Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctor.*, and he assigned the adjoining house, which he had bought from Pietro de Nuceto, *pro usu sapientiae et studentium*. Act executed there, *Regist. Beneimbene cart.*, 184. Until within a short time since, the valuable archives of the Confraternity remained in this palace.

² Infessura, p. 1238.

³ Paul V. gave the fountain its present form, Alexander VII. its present position. Innocent XI. erected the second fountain.

formed part of the Vatican system of fortifications.¹

Villa Man-
lianum.

Innocent built a second country house on the Tiber outside the Porta Portese, where since ancient times the Bishopric of Portus had owned an estate called Manlianum. It was used for hunting, and in 1480 was the scene of a magnificent hunt given by Count Riario in honour of Duke Ernest of Saxony, which stirred all Rome with admiration.² While still a cardinal, Innocent had built there a country house or hunting lodge, for in the latter capacity the building was used by later popes, more especially by Leo X. After Sixtus V. it fell to decay, and we now behold merely the ruins of its former splendour.

S. Maria in
Monserat.

S. Trinità
dei Monti.

The successor of Innocent VIII. had other tasks on hand than that of providing Rome with buildings; nevertheless Alexander VI. was not devoid of architectural taste. He continued the restoration of churches, and practical requirements demanded new places of worship. In 1495 the Spaniards built their national hospital of S. Maria in Monserato. The same year, as a memorial of his sojourn in Rome, Charles VIII. founded the Church of S. Trinità dei Monti, which was built by the Cardinal of S. Malò. That he caused marble to be brought for it from France shows that the quarries of valu-

¹ See the design of the Belvedere in the plan of the city in Schedel's *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg, A.D. 1492). The Belvedere cost 60,000 ducats, Infessura, p. 1243. The architect was Giacomo da Pietrasanta: E. Müntz, *Le Palais de Venise*.

² *Ad Mallianos fontes*: Jacob. Volat., *Diar. Rom.*, p. 104. I doubt the correctness of Nibby's assertion (in the *Analisi*), that Sixtus IV. had already built a *Palazzo magnifico* there.

able stone in Rome were exhausted, and that the accumulation of material hidden in the ancient emporium had not yet been discovered. The hospital church of S. Rocco arose in 1500, and on April 11 of the same year Matthias Lang laid the foundation-stone of S. Maria dell' Anima. This national hospital of the Germans owes its origin to John Peters, a native of Dordrecht, and the papal secretary Dietrich of Niem, who founded a hospital for German pilgrims in 1399. The new church in connection with this institution was consecrated on November 23, 1511.¹

The monuments of Alexander VI. are his buildings in the Borgo. It was he who first converted S. Angelo into a genuine fortress with battlements, walls and trenches. It was on the occasion of the building of these additions, that among several other beautiful antiquities was excavated the colossal bust of Hadrian, which the Greeks of Belisarius' army may possibly have hurled down on the Goth assailants.² This bust now stands in the Sala Rotunda of the Vatican. And on a similar occasion during the reign of Urban VIII. was discovered the Sleep-

S. Rocco.
S. Maria
dell'
Anima.

Alteration
in S.
Angelo
under
Alexander
VI.

¹ Anton Kerschbaumer, *Gesch. des deutschen Nationalhospices Anima in Rom*, Vienna, 1868. The title *de Anima* (or *Animarum*) refers to the dead, for whom the pilgrims were expected to pray. Niem is commemorated in the church by a laudatory inscription. The bull of foundation issued by Boniface IX. is dated November 9, 1399.—From 1569 the arms of the Hospice have been the Imperial Eagle, bearing on its breast the image of the Virgin and two naked souls on its wings.

² In making excavations at the fortress in May, 1495: *trovarono sei teste di alabastro bellissime et altre antichità*. . . Marino Sanuto, *Venuta di Carlo VIII.*

ing Faun, which is now in Munich. Alexander closed the ancient entrance to S. Angelo, and caused the present one to be made. He constructed the staircase which leads through the mortuary chamber to the upper structure which he built; he had cisterns and pits for the storage of grain excavated in the interior, as well as five subterranean prisons, for which victims were not lacking.¹ The rooms of the upper storey were destroyed by the powder explosion of 1497, were afterwards restored and painted by Pinturicchio, and were rendered still more sumptuous by Paul III.² A drawing of 1492 shows S. Angelo as a round structure with two square erections above; two round towers adjoin the fortress on the side of the river. The bridge itself has two crenellated towers and a wall, with a gate towards the city on the side of the two chapels of Nicholas V. The ancient Porta Aenea in the wall of S. Angelo being too narrow, Alexander caused a new gate to be made.³ Vineyards and

¹ Mscr. Barberini, *ut supra*.

² For accounts for the work in S. Angelo, done under Alexander VI., see Müntz, *Les Antiq. de la ville de Rome*, p. 62 f. Alexander VI. caused inscriptions to be placed under the pictures in S. Angelo; they were copied by Laur. Behaim (Cod. of H. Schedel). Among others: *Carol. VIII. Galliae Rex Regnum Parthenopes Armis Occupaturus Romam Ingressus Sex. Alex. P. M. Redeunti Ex Arce Hadrianali In Orto Pontificio Beatos Pedes Religiose Subosculatus Est*. Further: *Roma Neapolim Carolus Abiturus Caesarem Borgiam Diac. Card. Cognom. Valent. Sex. Al. Pont. M. Carissimum: Et Sultanum Zizimum Orientis Competitorem Magni Sultani Fratrem Bazayti Cadmi Thurcarum Regis Profugum Rome Captum Secum Abduxit*.

³ Schedel's plan of the city in the *Welichronik* and in the coloured print in the Munich Codex. The medal of Alexander VI.

houses were removed in the neighbourhood of this fortress, the piazza in front was enlarged and paved, and a straight street was made to the Vatican in preparation for the approaching jubilee, viz., the Via Recta or Alexandrina, now called the Borgo Nuovo. On its completion on December 24, 1499, the ancient irregular road to S. Peter's, the so-called Via Sacra or the Borgo Vecchio, was provisionally closed, and on this occasion the ancient tomb-pyramid, the Meta Scipionis or Romuli, was removed. Beside the Sistina, which ran close to the walls in the direction of the fortress, the Alexandrina was consequently the third and indeed the chief street of the Leonina.¹ All officials of the Curia were taxed for its construction, and houses were immediately built along it. The Porta Septimiana was also restored by Alexander VI.,² whose architect Antonio da Sangallo also built the fortresses in Tivoli, Civitella, and Civita Castellana. Already as cardinal and commendatore of Subiaco, Alexander restored the fortress there in 1476.³

The Alex-
andrina
in the
Borgo.

with *Arcem in Mole Divi Hadr. Instaur. Fossa ac Propugnaculis Mun.* shows S. Angelo, although probably not quite accurately; the papal banner on the flanking-towers, the angel above. Bonanni, i. 115.—Concerning the new gate of Alexander VI., see Andreas Fulvius, *De Urbis antiquit.*, i. 48.

¹ The position of the streets is determined by a deed of Cardinal Adriano referring to his palace (now Giraud-Torlonia) which is described as standing *in via Alexandrina cognominata per fel. rec. Alex. PP. VI. noviter constructa—a latere anteriori et dicta via publ. Alexandrina, a latere posteriori est via Sistina prope muros quib. itur ad castrum S. Angeli.* Deed in the Reg. Beneimbene.

² Andreas Fulvius, i. 45.

³ On this fortress (as on Civita Castellana) we still see the arms

Apparta-
mento
Borgia.

He finished the buildings of Nicholas V. in the Vatican on a magnificent scale, and from him they received the names of Torre di Borgia and Appartamento Borgia.¹

Palazzo
Borgia.

In the city itself Alexander erected the university buildings, the present form of which, however, is due to Alexander VII. As cardinal he had already built the huge Palazzo Borgia, which now belongs to the Sforza-Cesarini. It arose out of the ancient building of the papal chancery, which Alexander transformed to such a degree that his palace became celebrated as one of the finest in Italy. The original columned courtyard, and also the interior, have undergone several restorations.²

Bramante
in Rome.

Under the pontificate of Alexander VI. arose two of the most beautiful palaces in Rome. For here the greatest genius of Italian architecture served the requirements of Roman magnificence. Bramante came to Rome for the first time in 1499, to execute, under Alexander VI. and Alexander's successors, works which are still the admired orna-

of the Borgia with an inscription of the year 1475. The principal tower is called *Torre di Borgia*. Jannucelli, *Mem. di Subiaco*, p. 230. The building cost 9000 ducats (*Ex Registris Alex. VI.*, Mscr. Barberini, heading "Fabricae").

¹ Alexander had the Piazza of S. Peter paved, and caused a fountain on it to be ornamented with gilt bulls: *fontem equorum in platea S. Petri positus pro ornamento bobus deauratis*: MS. Barberini.

² *Quod inter eximia palatia Italiae facile potest commemorari*: Gaspar. Veron. Mur., iii. ii. 1036. The Chancery remained there until Leo X. removed it to the Palazzo Riario, whereupon the Borgia palace passed into the hands of the Sforza. (Ratti, *Fam. Sforza*, i. 84.)

ments of the city. With him began the new architectural epoch of Rome, which reached its fullest development in the following century. Even in the time of Alexander, Bramante was employed on the present Cancellaria, and on the palace now called Giraud or Torlonia, the noblest example of the non-ecclesiastical Renaissance architecture.

The Cancellaria was built at the orders of Rafael Riario, the other palace in the Borgo by Adrian of Corneto, who was, however, unable to complete it.¹ Both palaces are of world-wide renown, the first owing to the columned courtyard, which is the most beautiful in Rome. For here, as in the palace of S. Marco, the court was the chief object of the architect, and there, as here, the adjacent church was most inappropriately annexed to the palace.² The work of building lasted several years and consumed many blocks of travertine from the Colosseum, and others from the so-called Arch of Gordianus on the Esquiline near S. Vito, which was then destroyed.³

The palace of the Cancellaria and that of Adrian of Corneto.

¹ After Adrian's flight in 1517, his palace fell into the possession of Henry VIII. of England. As early as November 1504 the Cardinal had presented it to Henry VII., *etiam pro natione anglica in urbe Romana vel pro usu et habitatione oratorum*: Deed of gift in the Reg. Beneimbene. The last ambassador of England to Rome dwelt there. After other fortunes the palace became the property of Count Giraud in the time of Clement XI. It now belongs to Torlonia.

² The inscription on its façade says: *Raph. Riarius Savonensis S. Georgii Card. S. R. E. Camerarius a Sixto quarto Pont. M. honorib. ac fortunis honestatus templum divo Laurentio martyri dicatum et aedes a fundamentis sua impensa fecit MCCCCLXXXV. Alex. P. VI. P. M.* This date is not correct as regards the foundation of the palace.

³ Albertini, p. 59, Andreas Fulvius, iv. 245.

It is even asserted that the forty-four ancient granite pillars, which support the magnificent porticoes of the court, had belonged to the ancient basilica of S. Lorenzo. This court and the beautiful façade are probably the work of Bramante; other artists were employed on the remaining portions of the palace, which we cannot doubt was begun several years before Bramante's arrival, and even under Sixtus IV.

3. SCULPTURE IN ROME—MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE IN CHURCHES—MINO AND HIS SCHOOL—FILARETE'S DOORS TO S. PETER'S—TOMB OF MARTIN V.—THE ROMAN STYLE IN MONUMENTS—MONUMENT OF EUGENIUS IV.—TOMBS OF NICHOLAS V., CALIXTUS III., PAUL II., PIUS II.—THE BRONZE MONUMENTS OF SIXTUS IV. AND INNOCENT VIII.—TOMBS OF CARDINALS—STATUES—HONORARY PORTRAIT STATUES—SIXTUS IV. RESTORES THE BRONZE STATUE OF M. AURELIUS—BUSTS—MEDALS—GEMS—JEWELLERS—THE PIETÀ OF M. ANGELO.

From Florence came not only the new architecture, but also the arts of modern sculpture and painting. At the time when Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Donatello, and Robbia created a purer world of form, Rome owned no native school of art of the importance of that of the Cosmati. At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, we perceive only one man of distinction, Paolo Romano. But the life of this sculptor and the careers of his reputed pupils Giancristoforo of Rome, Niccolo

Sculpture
in Rome.

della Guardia, and Pietro Paoli of Todi, are obscure. And the greater numbers of the works of Renaissance sculpture in Rome bear no name.¹

Florentines worked in Rome in the service of the popes as early as the time of Eugenius IV. Under him, who had lived so long in exile in Florence, Filarete and Simone received employment, and even the great Donatello is found in Rome as early as 1431; but the time of greatest activity began with Mino da Fiesole in 1450. Mino's works and those of his pupils form the chief features of Roman sculpture during the early Renaissance. Many other masters worked beside and after them, famous men such as the Pollajuoli and Andrea da Verocchio, and unknown artists until the end of the century, when Michael Angelo exhibited his first masterpiece in Rome.²

Filarete,
Simone,
and Mino.

The sculpture of the Renaissance represents a wealth of artistic life among the Italians scarcely inferior to the remaining provinces of art; nevertheless Italian sculpture was never able to reach the perfect beauty that was attained by painting. It produced magnificent decorative work, such as the Ghiberti doors to the Baptistery in Florence; but even at the summit of its creative power never achieved anything that can pretend to a classicism

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Paolo Romano e Maestro Mino*, iv. 431. The *Paulus Mariani de urbe sculptor*, who carved statues for S. Peter's in the time of Pius II., is probably the same Paolo Romano; Amati, *Notizie di alcuni manoscritti*, p. 214.

² The *Diar. di Paolo dello Mastro Mscr.* registers the death of *Pietro Pavolo Cortese famosissimo nel mestieri de marme* on November 10, 1463.

of imperishable fame. It is remarkable that even in the time of its youthful simplicity, a period exemplified in Mino, there is visible, besides dryness of style, its fundamental fault, a mannerism that rejected nature and an uncertain leaning towards painting. Sculpture remained for the most part in the service of architecture, and chiefly ecclesiastical architecture; it adorned it with ornament, it erected in churches statues of saints, its most thankless works, or tombs, its best and most numerous monuments. But in the Christian ideal there constantly lurked a principle hostile to sculpture, to prevent its full development, or else a pagan ideal irreconcilable with Christianity continued to dwell in the art.¹

Renas-
cence
sculpture in
churches.

In all branches Rome possesses a multitude of works, though scattered and contaminated with styles of art of other periods, in such a manner that here the general picture of the Renaissance in plastic art must first be pieced together. In Rome we find beautiful marble altars and tabernacles, tribunes and balustrades, fountains in convent courtyards, shrines for the consecrated elements, wooden roofs in churches, portals, church doors, lastly tombs, all of which give us an idea of the wealth of art in Rome during the second half of the fifteenth century, when ornamentation gave rise to fantastic forms, and even approached classic perfection. Works such as those, which arose from the time of

¹ The reader is acquainted with Lübke's and Burkhart's works in this province of the history of art. He will also find excellent sections on the Roman Renaissance in vol. iii. of Reumont's *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*.

Mino under Paul II., are found in several churches ; more especially some wall-altars with sculptures on the front, and beautifully decorated tabernacles. One of the oldest is that of the year 1469 in the Salviati Chapel in S. Giorgio. But among the richest in these objects is S. Maria del Popolo, which contains beautiful tabernacles of the time of the Rovere, and the masterpiece of its kind made by order of Alexander VI. while cardinal, for the high altar of the Church.¹ All such works, the oldest perhaps by Mino himself, are anonymous.

In the Sistine Chapel the marble wardrobes in the presbyterium, and the tribune for the choir of the time of Sixtus IV., are of faultless workmanship. Of marble doorways the best examples are seen in S. Marco, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Agostino, and the palace of the Governo Vecchio. But scarcely any of these doorways can compete with those of the castle of Urbino. A beautiful Renaissance wooden roof of the time of Paul II. may be seen in S. Marco, and another in S. Maria Maggiore, where it was designed by Giuliano da Sangallo for Alexander VI. It is asserted that this roof was overlaid with the first gold brought by Columbus from America.

Among the oldest monuments of the early Renaissance are the bronze doors in S. Peter's, which were

¹ See in S. Maria del Popolo the two tabernacles in the Baptistery of S. John ; the altar-tabernacle of Cardinal Costa (Capella Catarina about 1479) ; that in the sacristy (1497), where that of Alexander VI. is also found. In S. Cosimato in Trastevere, the tabernacle, made by order of Lorenzo Cibo, and that dedicated by Innocent VIII. in S. Maria della Pace.

Filarete's
bronze
doors to
S. Peter's.

placed there on August 14, 1445.¹ With these we may, in fact, begin the history of Roman sculpture in the fifteenth century. The artist, unfortunately, was not Ghiberti but Antonio Averulino, surnamed Filarete, a Florentine celebrated as an architect and sculptor. Eugenius IV. had entrusted him with the work, after the sight of Ghiberti's doors had aroused the Pope's desire to adorn S. Peter's with yet greater magnificence. But Filarete's work proved hard, devoid of religious feeling, and unsuccessful. It possesses merely historic value, many events of the time being depicted in relief, such as the departure of the Greek emperor, and his arrival at Ferrara, the union of the two churches, and Sigismund's coronation. Desire for fame had induced Eugenius IV. to perpetuate his own actions on the doors of S. Peter's. Still more striking is the mixture of paganism with Christianity, although at the time it was entirely naïve. For the contemporary of Poggio could scarcely be offended by the sight of Roma, an image of Mars in her hand, of the wolf suckling the children, of Ganymede, or Leda yielding herself to the swan, on the doors of the most sacred basilica of Christendom. Subjects that would have been condemned as blasphemy by Pope Hildebrand, who had erected in S. Paul's the first bronze doors seen in Rome—doors adorned with strictly biblical figures—would undoubtedly have met with the approval of a pope in the

¹ This date is given by Petroni, p. 1128; the MS. Chronicle of Paolo da Ponte gives July 5. Paul V. had them re-erected in the new church of S. Peter in 1619.

irreligious city of the Renaissance, and at a time when ancient culture was reinstated in its rights. These pagan figures, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, are depicted on Filarete's doors, with the heads of some emperors amid arabesques of animals and plants. Less striking are the scenes of Aesop's fable of the fox. Of monumental value in the sight of the artist are, finally, the architectural scenes representing the pyramids of Cestius and Romulus, and the tomb of Hadrian. In its naturalistic treatment the entire work shows a complete absence of religious feeling. Vasari in his time naturally does not remark on the inappropriate introduction of the pagan mythology; he merely censures the banal caprice of the artist in representing himself and his assistants on the doors with a laden ass on their way to a vineyard. He also criticises the work as badly drawn.¹ That it won admiration, however, is shown by the proud consciousness with which Filarete acknowledged himself the author.² And Blondus also expresses the opinion that the figured art displayed on these doors was of a higher quality than that of the undecorated silver doors with which Leo IV. had in former days adorned S. Peter's.³ Eugenius caused Filarete's works to be copied in wood by a Dominican—Antonio di Michele of Viterbo. But whether and where these copies were

¹ III. 287: *opera in così stancata maniera—condotta*. See the article "Averulino" in Meyer's *Künstlerlexicon*.

² Gaye, i. 201. Illustrations in Pistolesi, *Il Valicano descritto*, i.

³ *Roma Instaur.*, i. 58. Vegio calls them *miro artificio*, *Histor. Basil. Antiq. S. Petri II.*, c. 3. Filarete afterwards entered Sforza's service and went to Milan, where he built the magnificent hospital.

Bronze
tomb of
Martin V.
in the
Lateran.

erected is unknown. They have not been preserved. To a fellow-worker of Filarete, Simone of Florence, Vasari ascribes the tomb of Martin V. in the Lateran. The less important task, that of depicting the pope in low relief on a simple bronze tablet, was more successful than the design of the bronze doors.

Martin's monument inaugurates the almost innumerable series of Renaissance tombs in Rome. Leonardo Aretino derided the vain ambition of his contemporaries in wishing to immortalise themselves in such monuments, but he himself would have found it difficult to refuse the memorial erected to him in S. Croce in Florence.¹ In Rome, where men had the Via Appia before their eyes, the Renaissance of sepulchral luxury assumed greater proportions, until it reached its climax in Julius II.'s colossal design for his own grave. Here it was only popes and prelates who vied with one another, for we find the grave of ^{the} but one layman of distinction belonging to the period in the city.

Roman
monu-
ments.

The traditions of Roman monumental art were maintained, but a greater wealth of plastic figures was developed ; the Gothic tabernacle assumed a Renaissance form ; mosaics gave place to delicate arabesques in marble. The diversity of these tombs in details is very great, but taken on the whole they grow wearisome. We should assuredly find more enjoyment in the survey of a series of ancient Christian sarcophagi than in the like series of these cold

¹ Leon. Aretin., *Ep.*, vi. 5, to Poggio. *Nemo qui gloriae suae confidat, de sepulcro sibi faciundo unquam cogitavit.*

Renascence monuments. The sarcophagus with the recumbent figure of the dead is generally surrounded by a tabernacle in the shape of a round arch or pediment. Figures of patron saints or of the Virtues stand in niches in the richly decorated jambs; in the lunette the mosaic of the times of the Cosmati, the Virgin with angels, is succeeded by a relief with a similar subject.

The custom of inserting gravestones in the pavement of churches still continued; sometimes the figures were depicted in relief, sometimes in outline; and here the decorative drawing is frequently admirable.

The greater number of the tombs of the Renascence were to be seen in old S. Peter's, where costly monuments had been erected to the popes from the time of Nicholas V. But in rebuilding the cathedral these tombs were ruthlessly destroyed.

The tomb of Eugenius IV., a marble sarcophagus with the figure of the dead in a tabernacle, the mannered work of Ysaïas of Pisa, was removed to S. Salvatore in Lauro. Of the monuments of Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Paul II., we see nothing but some bronze fragments in the crypt of the Vatican. They were rich in figures, more especially that of Paul II., which was executed by Mino with great splendour. The monuments of Pius II., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. are in perfect preservation. The first now stands in S. Andrea della Valle, a large and tasteless work with numerous figures.¹ The tombs of the two other

Monu-
ments of
the Popes
of the
Renas-
cence.

¹ Vasari (iv. 133) speaks of Niccola della Guardia and Pietro da

Tomb of
Sixtus IV.

popes are of bronze. That of Sixtus IV. was executed in 1493, and erected in S. Peter's, where it stands in the chapel of the Sacrament; the figure of the Pope in bronze, surrounded with allegorical characters, reposes on the tomb. Instead of the virtues we see Theology, Arithmetic and Astronomy, Rhetoric, Dialectics, Grammar, Perspective and Music, Geometry and Philosophy, appropriately enough surrounding the figure of a pope of the age of Humanism, who was, besides, the second founder of the Vatican library, and who filled Rome with buildings and monuments of art. The best of these mannered monuments, and convincing in its naturalness, is the energetic portrait of the Pope.

of Innocent
VIII. by
Pollajuolo.

Artificial and far less vigorous is the bronze tomb of Innocent VIII., which we see reared against a pilaster in S. Peter's, a sarcophagus with the recumbent figure of the pope, who is again seen seated above on the throne, holding the Sacred Lance. These two monuments are the work of the Florentine Antonio Pollajuolo, who, like his brother Pietro, was sculptor and painter at the same time, and who worked a great deal in Rome. He died here, grown wealthy, in 1498. The sepulchral busts of the two brothers may still be seen inside the entrance to S. Pietro in Vincula.¹

Todi as the sculptors, but in the life of Filarete (iii. 294) says that it was the work of Pasquino da Montepulciano. Concerning these monuments, see my *Grabmäler der Päpste*.

¹ A bishop's grave in bronze, belonging to the end of the fifteenth century, is still found in a chapel of S. Maria del Popolo.

Alexander VI. received no monument, nor even a grave. The sarcophagus which is now shown as his in the crypt of the Vatican is probably that of his uncle, Calixtus III. Some Spaniards wished to erect a memorial to their countryman, but renounced their intention, and the corpse of the terrible Borgia was brought with that of his uncle to S. Maria in Monserrato, where they were kept uninterred in a wooden chest in a room.¹ Not until 1883 did King Alfonso of Spain order the two popes to be buried in a marble mausoleum in the church.

Among the tombs of the cardinals of this period there are many of beautiful workmanship. It seldom happened that cardinals disdained a monument as did Latino Orsini, who left orders that he was to be buried without an inscription in S. Salvatore in Lauro. Others failed to receive them, owing to the fault of their heirs. No stone commemorates the young cardinal of Aragon, the son of a king, who died in Rome in 1485. More fortunate was Jacopo, the Infante of Portugal, who died in Florence in 1459, for to no other cardinal has so beautiful a monument been erected as that reared to his memory in S. Miniato. A work of Antonio Rosellino, it is perhaps the finest of all tombs of Renaissance times. Torquemada (who died in 1478) only received a gravestone and a bronze memorial bust in the Minerva; the celebrated Cusa merely a

Monu-
ments of
cardinals.

¹ With the following inscription: *Los guesos de dos Papas están en esta caseta, y son Calisto y Alexandro VI. y eran Españoles.* They were removed to this church by order of Paul V., A.D. 1610. A. Leonetti, *Papa Alessandro VI.*, Bologna, 1880, iii. 389.

gravestone with his portrait carved on the pavement of S. Pietro ad Vincula; a relief on the wall above represents him as standing in front of S. Peter and handing him the chains. This work, which is hard in style, was executed in 1465 by the cardinal's orders for the altar where the chains are kept. Bessarion, too, is merely commemorated by an inscription with his medallion in the convent of SS. Apostoli. We also seek in vain for the tomb of Cardinal Prospero Colonna.¹

Monu-
ments in
S. Maria
del Popolo.

No church in Rome gives so perfect an idea of the Renaissance in sculpture as S. Maria del Popolo. The chapels here have remained untouched, and in these we find several beautiful monuments belonging to the time of Sixtus and still later periods.²

But almost every church in Rome possesses monuments of the Renaissance worthy of regard and

¹ In Aracoeli: Tomb of Cardinal Lud. d'Alibret (died 1465); of Giamb. Savelli (died 1498), with excellent figures. In the Minerva: of Cardinal Collescipoli (died 1446); below, the monument of Tornabuoni by Mino; then the excellent tomb of the two Cardinals Capranica; of Petro Ferrix (died 1478), in the courtyard; of Diotesalvi Neroni (died 1482), and of Sopranzi (died 1495).—In S. Gregorio, on the Coelius, the beautiful tomb of the brothers Bonsi.—In SS. Apostoli, the monument to Cardinal Pietro Riario (died 1474) with several figures of great beauty.

² Especially beautiful is the tomb of Cardinal Cristoforo Rovere (died 1478); that of the young Albertini (died 1485); of the Prelate Rocca (1482); of the Cardinals Pietro Mellini (died 1483) and Lunate (1497). This monument belongs, like that of Podocatharus in the same church, to the following century. Likewise the monument of Scarampo, in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, is of the year 1515. Nicol. Forteguerra (died 1473) has his monument—perhaps a work of Paolo Romano—in S. Cecilia. Similar to it is the tomb of Seripando (died 1465) in the Priory on the Aventine.

belonging to various schools. For Paolo Romano, Filarete, Mino, Andrea da Verocchio, Pollajuolo, Ysaia, and many other artists here carved sepulchral monuments.¹

The churches thus became filled with works of monumental sculpture, which left the sculpture of independent figures far behind. Nevertheless art was active in this line also. Paolo Romano executed figures of saints in silver for the Sistine Chapel; Mino made two statuettes of John the Baptist and S. Sebastian for a chapel in the Minerva. The marble figure of S. Paul, which Vasari ascribes to Paolo Romano, still stands on the bridge of S. Angelo, while the adjacent statue of S. Peter was executed by Lorenzetto under Clement VII. The steps to S. Peter's were adorned by Pius II. with the colossal statues of the princes of the apostles, which remained erect until 1847, and are now placed in the corridor of the sacristy. The marble figure of S. Andrew, which still stands on the Ponte

Statuettes.

¹ In the courtyard of S. Agostino, the tomb of Cardinal Ammanati. In S. Clemente the monuments of Cardinal Venieri (died 1479) and of Rovarella (1476); in S. Prassede, the beautiful monument to Cardinal Alain (died 1474); in S. Sabina, the tomb of Cardinal Ausia (1483). Tombs of Spanish prelates in S. M. del Monserrato, whence they were brought from S. Jacopo on the Navona: thus, those of a relation of Alexander VI., de Mella (died 1467), of Bishop Rodrigo Sanches (died 1468), of Alfonso Paradinas. Monuments of cardinals were also removed from S. Peter's to the crypt of the Vatican; thus those of the two Ardicinus della Porta (died 1434, 1493), Bernardo Eruli (died 1479); further gravestones, such as that of Nardini of Forli; of Olivier Longueil and Baptista Zeno (died 1484). The gravestone of Carlotta of Cyprus is also there, while Catarina of Bosnia lies buried in Aracoeli.

Molle, was wrought by Paolo Romano at the order of the same pope.¹

We have already observed that in the time of Eugenius IV. the bold idea of erecting an honorary statue was ordained by decree of the senate and people, and that Vitelleschi was to have been the recipient of the honour. Antonio Rido, the same provost of S. Angelo who wrought the fall of the cardinal, was depicted on horseback over his sarcophagus in S. Francesco Romana, where the somewhat rude monument still endures. This little equestrian figure in relief is the only one of the kind belonging to the Middle Ages in the whole of Rome.²

The idea of such statues may have been suggested by the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius; a work that probably gave rise to the few others of the like description that were erected in Italy in the fifteenth century; thus, first of all, the bronze equestrian statue of the Venetian general Gattamelata, a work

¹ We are indebted to Eugène Müntz again for information concerning works of Paolo Romano and of Ysaïas of Pisa. Both worked at the loggia for the benediction erected by Pius II., and the magnificent Ciborium of the Altar of St Andrew, in the chapel of that saint, built by the same pope. Remains of the Ciborium exist in the crypt of the Vatican.

² *Antonio Rido Patavino Sub Eugenio P. M. Arcis Ro. Praefecto Ac Nicolai V. Copiarum Duci Joannis Franciscus Filius ex Testamento F. C.*—Thus the inscription. The relief of the equestrian statue which Sixtus IV. erected to Robert Malatesta in the Portico of S. Peter's was removed to the Villa Borghese in 1616, and afterwards to France: *Torrigio le Grotte*, p. 601, Agincourt, Tav. 38. n. 7. Cardinal Giambattista Orsini erected a similar monument in S. M. at Monterotondo in memory of his brother Jordan (who died in 1483): Litta, Orsini, Tav. viii.

of Donatello, in front of the Cathedral of Padua; then that of the condottiere Colleoni, by Andrea da Verocchio, opposite SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. The bronze statue of M. Aurelius which exercised such far-reaching influence was in a very defective condition. At Sixtus' orders it was restored in 1473, and placed on a new pedestal. Archaeology had already shattered the myth that the statue was that of Constantine.¹

Restoration of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius,

Sixtus had done so much for Rome that he himself well deserved the honour of a public statue. This, however, he did not receive, although when the Roman Senate caused the forgotten statue of Charles of Anjou to be re-erected on the Capitol in 1481, and when memorial tablets bearing their coats of arms were always placed in honour of senators retiring from office, the idea of erecting a statue to the Pope may possibly have arisen.² But before Leo X. no pope was honoured with a statue on the Capitol. This is the more striking, since other cities reared monuments to popes. In 1467 the commune of Perugia erected the bronze figure of Paul II., which, placed in front of the cathedral, remained there until the end of the eighteenth century. The sculptor was Vellano of Padua, to

¹ *Equum illum aeneum vetustate quassatum, et jam collabentem cum sessore Marco Aurelio Antonino restituit. Vita Sixti IV.*, p. 1064. Information concerning the restoration is given by Zahn (*Bull. di corrisp. arch.*, September 1867). This official report still speaks of the equestrian statue as *equus Constantini*, while the Vita (by Platina) gives it its true name.

² Inscriptions at the Senate house in Forcella, i. 27. *Signa* here signifies arms.

Busts.

whom is also due the marble bust of the same pope in the palace of S. Marco.¹ Busts of this period are very rare in Rome; that of Teodorina Cibò, which now stands on the staircase of the Villa Albani, being, in fact, an isolated instance. It shows that in the latter part of the fifteenth century the art of plastic portraiture was cultivated in Rome after it had become the vogue in Florence. The delicate art practised by the ancients of engraving figures on cornelian, jasper, and crystal was revived at a period when such antiques were eagerly collected. In the time of Alexander VI., the Florentine Pietro Maria obtained celebrity as an engraver on cornelian; one of his works, a cup with three handles, was repeatedly sold at a high price as an antique. The sculptor Cristoforo Romano, a pupil of Paolo, appears to have distinguished himself in this art.²

Medals.

Worthy of note also are the commemorative and personal medals of the time which the imitation of antique models brought into use; they answered to the thirst for fame of men of Renaissance times, and to their cult of individuality. Celebrated as a master and the prince of this art was the Veronese Vittore Pisano, who lived until 1451. His medals depict several of the conspicuous personages of the period, and from his school issued the most renowned artists of Italy.

Commemorative medals of the Popes.

With Martin V., of whom he is said to have made a portrait medal, begins the series of medallic portraits of popes, of which we find some excellent

¹ Vasari, iv. iii., *Lettere pittor. perugine*, Perugia, 1788, 43.

² Anonimo of Morelli (Bassano, 1800), p. 71.

examples in the fifteenth century.¹ With this admirable art the works of the goldsmiths and jewellers stood in close alliance. They were the favourite demand of the Renaissance in Rome, as indeed throughout the whole of Italy, where sculptors issued from the jeweller's workshops. The splendour of religious services, the luxury of popes and cardinals, must have given a great impetus to this branch of art. It began in Rome under Eugenius IV., who employed many artists of this kind, especially Florentines, among whom he commissioned the great Ghiberti to make a magnificent tiara, which in artistic and material value seems to have been unrivalled.² But from their nature no artistic products were less durable than these objects of ecclesiastical luxury, and the sack of Rome in 1527 more especially scattered or destroyed the accumulated treasures of the Renaissance.

¹ Vasari, iv., *Vita di V. Pisanello*, and the Papal medals from Martin V. onwards, in Bonanni's *Numism.*, i. Raph. Volaterr., *Anthropol.*, xxi. 493, attributes the medals of Pius II. to Andrea of Cremona; those of Paul II. to Cristoforo of Mantua, and those of Sixtus IV. to Lysippus. See also Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*, iii. i. 124. Alfred Armand has collected the medals of the Renaissance, *Les Médailleurs Italiens des 14. et 15. siècles*, Paris, 1879; further, Alois Heiss in a sumptuous work, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1881 f.; [Friedländer, *die Ital. Schaumünzen des XVten Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1882]; Eugène Müntz, *L'atelier monétaire de Rome* (*Rev. numism.*, t. ii., 1884).

² Müntz gives the accounts for works of the kind under Eugenius IV., consecrated swords, wands, gold roses, reliquaries, vessels, cardinals' rings, banners, embroideries, etc., and more particularly under Nicholas V. Nicholas founded a manufactory for works *al ricamo* and for *arazzi* at the new mint which Eugenius IV. had established at the *campanaria turris* of the Vatican.

On the whole the most original and most beautiful works created by the sculpture of the time are to be found more in decorative than in essentially plastic works. Either the sculptor's art had not penetrated sufficiently into life, or else the life of that period did not supply sufficient independent and human motives. Sculpture took its subjects essentially from the province of the Church, and dedicated its best work to sepulchral monuments. Its creations consequently embrace for the most part objects in which thought cannot rise to the sphere of elevated and ideal beauty. The artists of Greece would only have looked with irony on the efforts of their Christian successors, and would have told them that the art of Phidias could have found no welcome subject in depicting figures of saints, martyrs, or dead prelates, in moral virtues, or angels. This opinion would have been in nowise modified by the sight of a celebrated marble group, which, erected in Rome at the end of the fifteenth century, inaugurated a new era in art. This was the *Pietà* of Michael Angelo. The artist, who came to Rome and entered the service of Cardinal Rafael Riario in 1496, carved this group at the age of five-and-twenty for Cardinal La Grolaye. The work, admirable alike for its art and truthfulness, placed Michael Angelo at once at the head of Italian sculptors, and this genius thus entered on his career during the terrible times of the Borgias, with a representation of the most touching grief, the highest symbol of Christianity. The statue, placed as it was in the chapel of S. Petronilla a year after the death of

The *Pietà*
of Michael
Angelo.

Savonarola, seemed to offer a silent protest against the profanation of religion under Alexander VI.

4. PAINTING IN ROME—ITS REVIVAL BY FOREIGN ARTISTS—MASACCIO—GENTILE DA FABRIANO—FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE—BENOZZO GOZZOLI—ACTIVITY OF ARTISTS UNDER SIXTUS IV.—MELOZZO DA FORLÌ—THE PICTURES IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL—PERUGINO—MANTEGNA—FILIPPINO LIPPI—PINTURICCHIO.

The development of painting in Rome during the Renaissance entirely corresponds to that of sculpture. After the time of Pietro Cavallini, painting fell to such a depth that it produced nothing worthy of notice until Martin V. invited the first foreign artists to Rome. During the entire fifteenth century no Roman endowed with talents of the first rank appeared, and it was invariably artists from the schools of Umbria, Tuscany and Northern Italy who executed the great commissions of popes and cardinals. They decorated the churches with mural paintings, a form of art which after the time of Masaccio developed in Florence on a new and magnificent scale. These frescoes of a realistic and dramatic style took the place of mosaics, the age of which was past. Unfortunately the paintings of the earliest period of the new Italian art, among them works of great importance, have perished for the most part in Rome.

Painting
in Rome.

Masaccio, the contemporary and associate of the Masaccio reformers of sculpture in Florence, had already been

invited to Rome by Martin V. To him are attributed the frescoes in a chapel of S. Clemente representing scenes in the life of S. Catherine. They are now the oldest monuments of the Renaissance of painting in Rome, but have suffered greatly from restoration.¹ Masaccio's activity in the city is undoubted, though his sojourn there is hidden in obscurity. None of his compatriots, with whom he undoubtedly associated, not even Poggio or Lionardo Bruni, mention his name, and the great artist had not yet painted the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel at Florence which have secured him immortality. He painted panel pictures *in tempera*, all of which have perished. One of these in S. Maria Maggiore, in which Martin V. and the Emperor Sigismund were depicted, called forth the admiration of Vasari and Michael Angelo, and the very mention of these portraits shows how the realistic spirit had entered into painting at the time.

Gentile and
Pisanello.

After 1427, Gentile da Fabriano and his assistant, Pisanello of Verona, executed frescoes in the Lateran under Martin V. The former painted pictures in S. Francesco Romana, and Michael Angelo, who saw them, pronounced them worthy of the distinguished artist by whom they had been produced. Long before this, the great Flemish painter Roger Van der Weyden had admired as the masterpiece of art in Italy Gentile's splendid frescoes in the Lateran, which depicted scenes from

¹ *Le Pitture di Masaccio esistenti in Roma nella Basil. di S. Clemente—pubblicati da Giov. dalle Armi, Roma, 1809.*

the life of John the Baptist.¹ These frescoes were finished by Pisanello in February 1432,² but unfortunately have perished from damp.

Under Eugenius IV. Fra Giovanni da Fiesole Fra Giovanni da Fiesole. came to Rome. The little Tuscan city was glorified by the fame of two contemporary artists of the first rank, the Beato Angelico and the sculptor Mino, both of whom also adorned Rome with their works. Both were imbued with the same feeling for beauty and form, but in the painter of Fiesole artistic enthusiasm was animated to such a degree by religious fervour that in him the inspiration of Giotto seemed to be revived. He, an old-fashioned Christian at a time when the pagan gods of humanism had begun to attack the heaven of the blessed, again depicted it with the colours of Paradise. If it be true that he came to Rome in 1445, then must he have remained here, dwelling as a monk with the Dominicans of the Minerva, with but little interruption until his death.³ He painted largely for Popes Eugenius and Nicholas; he also painted miniatures. Of his works, the frescoes in the chapel of S. Lorenzo in the Vatican,

¹ *Facius de viris ill.*, p. 45. Vasari, iv. 152. Platina, *Vita Martini V.*—On the last day of February 1427 Martin orders 25 florins a month, counting from January 28, to be paid to Gentile, who was painting in the Lateran. Amati in the *Archiv. Stor. III.*, iii. i. 168. Gentile died in Rome before 1450, and is said to be buried in S. Franc. Romana.—Pisanello's paintings in the Vatican are mentioned by Raph. Volaterran., *Anthropol.*, xxi. 493. See the passages on this subject by Eugène Müntz.

² Müntz, i. 47.

³ Commentary on the *Life of Fra Angelico da Fiesole*, Vasari, iv. 46.

which represent the lives of SS. Stephen and Lawrence, are all that remain. When he executed the commissions of Nicholas V., Fra Angelico was already old; nevertheless these works are reckoned among his finest productions. Unfortunately these masterpieces of the early Renaissance in Rome have been injured by restoration.¹ Still more to be regretted is the destruction of his paintings in the Chapel of the Sacrament, which was demolished under Paul III., and which contained the portraits of Nicholas V. and the Emperor Frederick III.

Benozzo
Gozzoli.

With Fra Angelico in Rome was also one of his greatest pupils, Benozzo Gozzoli. The two artists worked together in the Cathedral of Orvieto in 1447. In Rome itself Benozzo painted the Cesarini Chapel in Aracoeli with scenes from the life of S. Anthony of Padua, in which he introduced the portraits of cardinals Julian Cesarini and Antonio Colonna.² But of these pictures, as of those painted by Benozzo over the porch of the Torre dei Conti, and of the frescoes in a chapel of S. Maria Maggiore, not a trace remains. The paintings of Piero della Francesca and of Bramantino, who worked for Nicholas V. in the Vatican, have suffered the same fate, Julius II. having caused their works to be mercilessly destroyed in order to

¹ The Pope Sixtus II. in this picture is the portrait of Nicholas V. F. Giangiacomo, *Le pitture della Capella di Nic. V.*

² Vasari, iv. 186. Filarete speaks of Giachetto, a Frenchman, who painted an excellent portrait of Eugenius IV., which was placed in the sacristy of the Minerva. Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 206. He was the celebrated portrait painter, Jehan Fouquet.

make way for those of Raffaele in the Hall of Heliodorus. Among Bramantino's frescoes were the portraits of some celebrated men, such as Fortebraccio, Antonio Colonna, Vitelleschi and Bessarion.¹

With Sixtus IV. painting also received a vigorous impulse in Rome. Henceforward the most celebrated artists of Italy, Melozzo, Cosimo Roselli, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Mantegna, Lippi, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Signorelli are found here. Thus from the time of Nicholas V. this cosmopolitan city once more became, as in ancient imperial times, the scene of the activity of all creative intellects. The great number of artists, who with their comrades worked on contract for hire, and found employment here (where they enjoyed at the time no higher rank than that of artisans, and, compared to poets and translators, received but scanty payment), gave occasion to the foundation of the Confraternity of painters under the patronage of S. Luke in 1478. From this society the still existing Accademia di S. Luca arose under Gregory XIII.

Painting
in Rome
in the
time of
Sixtus IV.

One of the first artists summoned by Sixtus IV. was Melozzo of Forli, a member of the Paduan school. This gifted artist had been commissioned by Pietro Riario to decorate the tribune of SS. Apostoli. With the exception of a few fragments, the huge frescoes illustrating the Ascension of

Melozzo
of Forli.

¹ Vasari, iv. 18. Raffaele had them copied. Müntz refers to several other masters who worked under Nicholas V. This pope brought painters from Italy, France, Belgium and Spain to Rome.

Christ were unfortunately destroyed in 1711.¹ Bessarion had already caused the church to be decorated, and in 1460 the chapel of S. Eugenia had been painted at his orders by Antonazzo, a second-rate artist of Roman birth.² Melozzo also painted in the Vatican library. And to this library originally belonged the one painting of the master which remains in perfect preservation in Rome, the remarkable fresco which depicts the appointment of Platina as librarian by Sixtus IV. The Pope is represented surrounded by his nephews, and the picture is now in the Vatican gallery.

Sixtus proceeded to the adornment of his chapel with passionate energy, and with this object invited the foremost artists to Rome. While they covered the walls of the Sistina with frescoes they created one of the most memorable monuments of Florentine and Umbrian painting of the period. With these pictures were afterwards associated Michael Angelo's, so that this chapel became a temple of art of world-wide renown. The paintings of the time of Sixtus IV. are not indeed the masterpieces of the artists who produced them. Among the best are one attributed to Luca Signorelli of Moses reading his song of praise to the Children of Israel, and Ghirlandajo's Call of Peter and Andrew to the apostolic

Paintings
in the
Sistine
Chapel.

¹ A fragment representing Christ in glory remains in the stair-well of the Quirinal. Other fragments in the *stanza capitolare* of the sacristy of S. Peter's. Gius. Melchiorri, *Notizie intorno alla vita ed alle opere in Roma di Melozzo da Forlì*, Rome, 1835. A. Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì*, Berlin, 1886.

² Constantino Corvisieri, *Antonazzo Aquilio Romano Pittore del sec. XV.*, in the *Giorn. romano il Buonarroti*, July 1869.

office.¹ Perugino painted the Baptism of Christ, and the more beautiful picture of Christ handing the Keys to Peter. His frescoes on the end wall of the chapel were afterwards effaced to make way for Michael Angelo's Last Judgment. Two pictures are by the hand of Botticelli, one a scene from the life of Moses, the other the Temptation of Christ. Botticelli also executed the papal portraits in the niches above the paintings on the walls. The least successful pictures are those by Cosimo Roselli; the Defeat of Pharaoh and the Publication of the Law on Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Last Supper. The subjects which had been depicted in mosaic in the mediaeval churches—that is to say, the development of religion in a series of great events from the Old and New Testaments—also formed the leading idea in the Sistina. But even after Michael Angelo had painted the Creation, the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Last Judgment, the scheme was not systematically carried out, so that the pictures as a whole seem to lack a centre.

Sixtus caused the room for the patients in S. Spirito to be decorated with frescoes. These works of an unknown master, devoid of any special artistic value, display a series of historical scenes. The first refer to the foundation of the hospital by Innocent III.; the remainder glorify Sixtus IV. as the youth-

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, iii. 8, believe this picture to be Signorelli's only work in the chapel; a second picture (Moses and Zipporah) attributed to him is ascribed by Crowe to Perugino. But our information on the subject is so uncertain, that doubts are even cast upon the first.

ful teacher and preacher, as cardinal and pope, as the founder of benevolent institutions and churches. The building of the Ponte Sisto, of the Hospitals of S. Maria del Popolo and della Pace, are figuratively portrayed. Princes paying their devotions or seeking help are seen on their knees before Sixtus; thus the Kings of Denmark and Naples, the Queens of Bosnia and Cyprus, the exiled princes of the Peloponnesus and of Epirus. In the last of the series the pope himself is kneeling; angels carry his buildings in their hands, and two saints point to God the Father, who looks on these works with approval. Finally the beatified pope is led by the hand of Peter to the gates of Paradise, while from a loggia three angels scatter flowers on the newcomer. All these pictures are accompanied by lines written by Platina.¹

Perugino
in Rome.

About 1480 Perugino came to Rome, where he was aided in the Sistina by Pinturicchio and Bartolommeo della Gatta. He returned to the city later and painted in S. Marco and for Sciarra Colonna in the palace beside SS. Apostoli. But these works have perished. In the time of Alexander VI., in the pope's sitting-room called the Sala dell' Incendio, he painted the frescoes on the walls, the circular pictures and the arabesques, which still survive.

Mantegna.

Mantegna was commissioned by Innocent VIII. to decorate his Belvedere, and between the years

¹ Heinrich Brockhaus has examined and described these frescoes: *Das Hospital Santo Spirito zu Rom. im 15. Jahrhundert*, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vii. vol., 1884.

1488 and 1490 painted the Biblical pictures on the walls of the chapel dedicated to S. John, which are praised by Vasari as possessing the fineness of miniatures. They were destroyed by Pius VI., who caused this chapel to be pulled down in order to enlarge the Vatican museum by the addition of the Braccio nuovo. A work of art from the hand of one of the greatest of Italian painters was thus lost to Rome.¹

The mural paintings by Filippino Lippi in the Minerva, executed between 1488 and 1493 for Oliviero Caraffa, have been preserved. These rich but ineffective compositions glorify the deeds of Thomas Aquinas. Filippino
Lippi.

Of no painter of this period do so many works exist in Rome as of Pinturicchio. He painted here as early as the time of Sixtus IV. He decorated a palace in the Borgo for Domenico Rovere, and painted the still existing frescoes in a chapel founded by Giovanni Rovere, Duke of Sora, in S. Maria del Popolo. The pictures on the roof of the choir of the church are also by his hand. He also painted scenes from the life of S. Bernardino in the Buffalini chapel in Aracoeli. These beautiful frescoes have unfortunately been terribly retouched, Pintur-
icchio.

¹ These paintings were described by A. Taja, *Descris. del Pal. Ap. Vaticano*, Rome, 1750. The room which occupies the site of this chapel now contains the collection of busts belonging to the museum. Vasari, v. 173, relates that Mantegna, being badly paid by Innocent VIII., painted the figure of Moderation (*Discrezione*) among his other figures, and that the Pope advised him to place that of Patience beside it. Paul Cortesius, *De Cardinalatu*, p. 87 (writing about 1510), is already acquainted with the anecdote.

and equally restored are the frescoes in the tribune of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. They represent the Finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena and its restoration to Jerusalem by Heraclius, in compositions so rich and graceful as to entitle them to rank among the best of the artist's works. Some paintings also belonging to the school of Perugino in S. Onofrio are ascribed to Pinturicchio; these, however, are of doubtful attribution, like the similar paintings in the sacristy of S. Cecilia and in the choir of S. Lorenzo outside the walls.

Pintur-
icchio's
paintings
for Alex-
ander VI.

Pinturicchio had already executed for Innocent VIII. paintings in the Belvedere and the Vatican which had acquired him great recognition. This much-occupied artist then became court-painter to Alexander VI., who also entrusted him with the decoration of the Appartamento Borgia. These rooms were the scene of Alexander's most private life; here he received his friends of both sexes and his children, and here he laid the most secret plans of his policy. The first of the six rooms, the Sala Borgia, contains rich arabesques in stucco and colours, and pictures representing the planetary deities. These, however, are works of Giovanni da Udine, and belong to the time of Leo X., who caused Pinturicchio's frescoes in this room to be effaced. The paintings in the ceilings and the lunettes in the other rooms have been preserved, and in the bull displayed in the stucco armorial bearings we recognise the age of the Borgia. The paintings depict scenes in the life of Mary and Christ, histories of the saints, prophets, and sibyls, and the allegorical

figures of the Sciences.¹ In the third room, which contains Pinturicchio's finest paintings, are represented the myths of Isis and Osiris and the Bull of Apis, subjects which were suggested by the arms of the Borgia. This Egyptian myth is continued in the Sala della Sibilla. In an octagonal painting we see Alexander VI. enthroned; beside him a king and an emperor; above, the god Apollo. Over the doors of the third room are a Virgin and Child surrounded by a glory of angels, concerning which picture Vasari writes as follows: "Over a door of a room in the palace, Pinturicchio painted the Virgin with the features of Madam Julia Farnese, and in the same picture the head of Pope Alexander, who worships her."²

Vasari makes no comment on this profanation of sacred things in the chamber of a pope. We follow his example; but we may take the opportunity of casting a glance at the relation of the artists of the time towards the religious subjects which they treated. In the age of Humanism painters could no longer be so deeply imbued with religious faith as in the days of Cimabue, Duccio, and Giotto. In Fra Angelico alone dwelt the soul that inspired his art. We have noticed the pagan spirit of a Filarete.

¹ *Stadtbeschr.*, ii. i. 299. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 262.

² Vasari, v. 269. Vermiglioli, *Memorie di Pintur*, Perugia, 1837, p. 48, believes that he did this *forse per comando di Papa Alessandro*. Galv. Volpini, *L'appartam. Borgia nel Vaticano*, Rome, 1887, p. 122, simply mentions the fresco of the Virgin in the medallion over the entrance, and two heads in the arch of a window, on the right a matron, on the left a soldier, in whom Lucrezia and Caesar respectively are supposed to be identified.

Perugino, whose figures wear an enthusiastic expression approaching ecstasy, was, in Vasari's opinion, an utter pagan.¹

Profanisation of painting.

Fra Filippo Lippi painted the most spiritual-looking saints, but seduced the novice who sat as model to him in the convent of Prato. The beautiful face of the Virgin over the doorway of S. Peter's in Arezzo arouses our admiration. It is the portrait, however, of a courtesan, Tita, mother of the notorious Aretino. Thus in antiquity the *hetaera* Phryne served as model to Apelles for Aphrodite Anadyomene and to Praxiteles for the Venus of Cnidus.² Speaking generally, in the age of the Renaissance the artistic imagination became profane because it returned to naturalistic, sensuous form, and sought to give expression to passion. The early Christian ideal perished in the ideal of beauty. And hence the type of Christ and of the Madonna became entirely human. But in spite of this severance between art and the faith of former times, painters were able to endow their creations with a feeling of religious inspiration and dignity, which makes a greater impression than the dogmatic ideal of the past; and this they were enabled to do by the power of the artistic imagination. The time was come when, to recall a saying of Pope Gregory the Great, the ideal of Zeus and that of Christ found a place side by side in the artist's imagination. Sandro Botticelli painted at the same time devout pictures of the Madonna and of Venus rising from the sea. The youthful Michael Angelo carved the

¹ Vasari, vi. 50.

² Athenaeus, 13, 59.

touching group of the Virgin with the dead Saviour on her knees, when but a short time before he had sculptured the statue of the drunken Bacchus for the Roman Jacopo Galli.

Pinturicchio's paintings in the Vatican were executed between 1492 and 1495. They do not rank among the best achievements of this highly-gifted artist, who, like Perugino, worked only too hard and too mechanically. Pinturicchio also decorated the rooms in S. Angelo with grotesques for Alexander VI., and painted in the round tower of the Vatican garden frescoes, the destruction of which is to be deplored, since they depicted scenes in the pope's life and contained several portraits of contemporaries. Had they been preserved we should possess among others the authentic likenesses of Trivulzio, Pitigliano, and Charles VIII., of Djem and Caesar Borgia, of Lucrezia and the other children of the pope, finally that of Alexander himself. Pinturicchio was undoubtedly in Rome at the time of Charles VIII.'s entry, and was an eye-witness of the events that took place. It is probable that on the pope's return to the city, in 1495, he commissioned the court painter to record these events with his brush. Earlier in the year the artist had been rewarded for his labours by the gift of an estate near Perugia.¹ Alexander's favour also

¹ See the briefs in Vermiglioli, Appendix IV. The first of the year 1495, without date of the month; the second of July 1497 mentions the paintings themselves: *pro—picturis in Pal. nostro Ap. et in arce Castri S. Angeli non absque laborib., industria et maximo sumptu factis*. Whether Pinturicchio left Rome, as Crowe believes, as early as the beginning of 1496, I do not know.

acquired him that of Alexander's children. Pinturicchio appears to have also worked for Caesar in Rome, and in 1500, after he had left the city, he met the pope's son in Umbria, in another character—as conqueror of the Romagna. Caesar again recognised him as his courtier.¹ Pinturicchio died in 1513 at Siena, in the library of whose cathedral he had executed his finest works, the paintings which immortalise the deeds of Pius II.²

5. ASPECT OF THE CITY SURVEYED ACCORDING TO ITS REGIONS ABOUT THE YEAR 1500.

We close the survey of the Renaissance in Rome with a description of the city about the year 1500, and shall try to draw our imperfect picture according to its regions.

Picture of
the city of
Rome
about the
year 1500.

The whole aspect of Rome was less magnificent than that of present times, when the great number of cupolas imparts a character of completeness and majesty to the city. When the pilgrim of the jubilee year of 1500 climbed one of the towers, which flank the palace of the Senate on the Capitol, to survey Rome, the low cupolas of some of the Sixtine churches can scarcely have attracted his gaze. He only beheld ancient belfrys or towers belonging to the nobles soaring into the azure heavens. His eye next fell on the wilderness at

¹ Letter of Caesar to the Vice-Treasurer Alfano de Alfani, dated Diruta, October 14, 1500; translated into German by Reumont in *Kunstblatt*, 1850, p. 374. See Crowe, p. 275.

² Aug. Schmarsow, *Raphael und Pinturicchio in Siena*, Stuttg., 1880.

his feet, the centre of all the former greatness of the Romans; he saw goats clambering over the Capitol with its walls of black tufa, its gardens and clumps of wretched houses, its ruins and remains of temples. He surveyed the Forum filled with cattle, its ancient churches, ruinous triumphal arches, remains of temples and some half-destroyed columns. He beheld the deserted Palatine with the gigantic and ivy-mantled walls of the palaces of the Caesars, and beyond it the broken outlines of the Colosseum. If his glance embraced the whole circuit of Rome, he must have been surprised to find that this vast territory resembled a field, in which cultivated places were interspersed with ruins. The contrast between past and present in the fascinating panorama was more glaring then than now, although the city still remains severed into two divisions.

If the pilgrim turned his gaze to the inhabited part of Rome he saw the thickly populated quarter in the Field of Mars, masses of black houses and labyrinthine streets, becoming still more dense towards the lower part of the Via Lata. Prominent among these buildings were the many towers of Trastevere, and high above them the gardens on the Janiculum with S. Onofrio; in the Borgo old S. Peter's with the obelisk beside it, the already imposing pile of the Vatican, the Belvedere, the round towers of the Leonine wall, and lower down the long line of the hospital of S. Spirito and the gloomy fortress of S. Angelo. In the city proper his attention was attracted by the Orsini palace on Monte Giordano,

the Pantheon with its low cupola, the Minerva, the Piazza Navona, the column of Marcus Aurelius unsurmounted by a statue, and isolated palaces, most of them with towers, the Cancellaria, the University, the palaces of the Borgia, Massimi, Nardini, Valle, Caffarelli, Cesarini, and (the largest in Rome) that of S. Marco. In the Corso he beheld a long street with vacant spaces, with some churches, buildings and ruinous triumphal arches, extending with many gardens to the Piazza del Popolo, and bounding the inhabited part of Rome. For beyond, as far as the Pincio and Quirinal, he saw only gardens, here and there a little church, such as that of S. Trinità on the Pincio then in construction, and thinly scattered houses.

If his glance roved along the Tiber he saw, amid a beautiful and attractive setting, the grey churches of the Aventine; below, Monte Testaccio, with the blackened gate of S. Paul and the Pyramid of Cestius. Beyond the ancient Forum he gazed on a wondrous landscape of hills, from which towered red piles of ruins of baths and aqueducts and ancient churches of various outline. Resting places for his eyes were the huge Torre delle Milizie, the Torre dei Conti, the vast pile of the Baths of Diocletian, S. Pietro in Vincula, S. Martino, the towers of the Lateran and of S. Maria Maggiore, and the ruinous colossi of Caracalla's baths, while on the higher ground he saw none of those palatial villas which with their pines now adorn the picture.

The pilgrim had beheld more beautiful cities, more especially Venice, the wonder of his time; he

was nevertheless obliged to confess that this black, irregular and half-ruinous Rome, with her splendid azure sky, the grandeur of her aspect, her combination of life and desolation, her world of ruins, on the whole surpassed every other city in interest and sublimity. The city of Rome does not oppress the mind by the uniformity of an endless mass of houses; the Campagna itself encroaches within the walls of Aurelian. She was, and still is, the architectural theatre of the history of the world. Before Paris or London became important, Rome alone, even in the matter of dimensions, presented itself as a city of the world, although at the end of the fifteenth century it numbered scarcely seventy thousand inhabitants.¹

It is characteristic of Rome that she had no special centre of social life. In other cities this centre is formed by the communal palace, the cathedral or the fortress of the territorial prince, but the size of the Eternal City did not seem to allow of this. Here no one knew with what style of architecture to begin or end. During the Middle Ages the Capitol was undoubtedly the centre of Rome. It did not however exercise any architectural influence on the city, for before this unassuming communal palace stood the ruinous Forum and behind it a labyrinth of narrow streets. The abode of the popes in all ages stood

¹ In the time of Leo Rome reached the number of 85,000 inhabitants; in 1872 more than 244,000; in 1890 about 400,000. Niebuhr's prophecy, uttered in 1822, that the population of Rome would never exceed 136,000 was consequently superfluous. *Stadtbeschreibung*, i. 125.

on the outskirts of Rome, first in the Lateran, then in the wretched Vatican Borgo.

The Borgo. *The Borgo.*—The Leonine wall surrounded this quarter from S. Angelo upwards to S. Spirito. Besides the gate of this name were also the following: Torrione or Cavalleggieri, Pertusa, Belvedere (formerly Viridaria or S. Pellegrino), the Porta Castelli and the Aenea. The Cathedral of S. Peter's, the papal palace and the fortress taken together formed the main features of the Vatican city. The basilica in great measure still retained its ancient features—the marble staircase with the loggia of Alexander VI., the half-ruinous atrium, the bell-tower, the façade with its mosaics. Olivier Longueil, Cardinal under Calixtus III., had rebuilt on a large scale the palace of the arch-priest of S. Peter's near the steps. To the side still stood the two circular buildings, the Mausoleum of Honorius or S. Petronilla, and S. Andrea or Maria della Febbre; close by was the obelisk; in the neighbourhood the ancient convent churches still remained; and on the piazza, which was scarcely half the size of the present, S. Gregorio and S. Maria dei Vergari. The papal palace was an irregular mass of partly unfinished buildings; a wall connected it with the Belvedere, a covered passage with S. Angelo. Behind on the hill of the Vatican was the Mint of Eugenius IV. Gardens filled the right side of the Borgo to the Porta Castelli. On the left stood the palace of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, which was inhabited by the Borgia. The churches of the German schools (which themselves had perished) still remained—S.

Justina, S. Maria in Palatiolo and Michele in Sassia. Almost opposite stood and still stands S. Lorenzo in Piscibus.¹

The inhabited portion of the Borgo was traversed by some streets—the so-called Borgo of S. Spirito, the Sistina, the Alexandrina, now the Borgo nuovo. These were joined by the smaller streets.² Although the whole quarter resembled a suburb with empty spaces, it already contained important palaces. Nephews of popes, cardinals and courtiers here began to make their abode, and thus carried out the project of Nicholas V. The beautiful palace of Cardinal Adrian was in process of building; opposite stood that erected by Domenico Rovere, and in the Borgo Vecchio the palace of Cardinal Ardicino. It is supposed that Caesar Borgia dwelt in the palace now called Serristori.³ Franceschetto Cibò also lived in the Borgo. Of ancient churches S. Giacomo di Scossacavalli and S. Maria Traspontina still existed. The largest building was the Sistine hospital, from which the traveller proceeded to the Church of S. Spirito. On account of the numerous pilgrims who annually streamed to S. Peter's, several inn-keepers, for the most part Swiss and Germans, had settled in the Borgo in the fifteenth century. They

¹ Cardinal Armellino built a palace beside it in 1517. This palace then came into possession of the Cesi family, and was celebrated on account of the collections it contained.

² Adinolfi, *La Portica di S. Pietro ossia Borgo nell' età di mezzo*, Rome, 1859, mentions among other streets those of the *Sinibaldi* and *dell' Elefante*.

³ Adinolfi, p. 142. In 1867 one side of this was blown up by gunpowder laid by the Garibaldian conspirators.

displayed the signs of the inns painted in colours ; here were taverns of the Angel, the Sun, the Mirror, the Maiden, the Pilgrim's Staff, the Helmet, and so on. More than sixty of such German inns and taverns are enumerated in old registers in the Borgo as early as the days of Eugenius IV.¹ In spite of the zeal displayed in building since Sixtus IV., it was surprising that the immediate neighbourhood of S. Peter's, the scene of such magnificent religious solemnities, never assumed a more imposing aspect. Not until two centuries later was the colossal scheme of Nicholas V. carried out, at least in the colonnades in the Piazza of S. Peter. But in comparison with this splendid piazza, the Borgo in its poverty and decay forms even now the most glaring contrast.

The fact is explained by the nature of the Papacy, which is not a dynastic institution. This desolate quarter contains nothing of importance beyond these principal features, the basilica over the Apostle's grave, the castle and monastery of the popes, and S. Angelo, which protects both.

Region
XIII.,
Trastevere.

Region Trastevere.—The Porta S. Spirito leads from the Borgo to the Via Janiculensis, the present Lungara. In 1500 it was merely a country road over which S. Onofrio towered above vineyards. Scarcely a house was to be seen. Close to the Porta Settimiana still stood the ancient church of S. Giacomo, with gravestones of the Trasteverine family of Papareschi, and the country seat of Girolamo Riario, from which the Corsini palace afterwards arose. Even now a local lane is called

¹ Signor Corvisieri is my authority.

"dei Riarii."¹ Alexander VI. had rebuilt the Porta Settimiana, on which occasion the inscription of Septimius Severus was destroyed.² This gate led to Trastevere.

Since ancient times Trastevere had been a thickly populated city in itself. But since its inhabitants pursued humble occupations the Romans always held them in contempt. In the Middle Ages no Trasteverine could become a senator. The ancient monuments had disappeared; only the gates still retained their ancient site and form; that of Portus, then called "di Ripa," still bore the inscriptions of Honorius and Arcadius, and the Aurelia still wore its antiquated aspect.³ Some venerable churches still formed the attraction of Trastevere: SS. Maria, Crisogono, Cecilia, Agata, SS. Rufina and Secunda, Francesco a Ripa, S. Cosimato. On the Monte d'Oro, S. Pietro in Montorio had been erected shortly before 1500; outside, hoary with age, stood S. Pancrazio with its ruined catacombs. In the fourteenth century, the most flourishing period of Trastevere, some of these churches were decorated with paintings by Cavallini.

This retired quarter consequently retained a mediæval character longer than any other part of Rome. Here was seen a curious labyrinth of streets with ancient basilicas, brick palaces of pre-Gothic form,

¹ The *Speculum Roman. Magnificentias* of Lafrery (A.D. 1561) shows that the Lungara was even then very sparsely occupied.

² Gamucci, *Antichità di Roma*, p. 171.

³ It was only in 1643 that Urban VIII. caused the ancient Porta Portese to be pulled down.

especially as regarded their columned porticoes, or with Gothic-Roman doors and windows, and little houses with projecting buildings in front and stone staircases outside. Trastevere bristled with towers of the Middle Ages, the remains of which still exist here and there. But the names of such ancient families as the Tibaldeschi and Tiniosi, Romani, Papareschi, Braczuti and Alberteschi-Normanni had almost faded from memory.¹ The Stefaneschi, so powerful in Rome in the fourteenth century, still survived; the eldest branch of the Mattei still dwelt in Trastevere, the Anibaldi probably retained the half-Gothic palace in the Piazza Molara, and the heirs of Eversus of Anguillara their palace with the tower. It is probable that a branch of the Frangipani gave their name to the present Via Anicia. More recent families were the Macarani and the Castellani, on whose house at the end of the Lungaretta we still see the inscription of 1495 on the marble door-posts.

Lungar-
etta.

The Lungaretta, a construction of Julius II., under the name of Via Trastiberina, led, although not in a straight line, to the Bridge of the Senators. From this bridge, where the Church of S. Maria had been restored by Sixtus IV., the street of the Potters led to S. Cecilia. Tiber boatmen dwelt beside it, to

¹ The *Piazza Romana* is so called from the family *Romani*. A document of the year 1448 from S. Maria in Trastevere says: *domos sitas in Reg. Trast. in contrata que dicitur Piazza de Buccio de Romano in parochia Scor. Grisogoni et Rufine et Secunde*. Mscr. Vat. 8051, and as early as 1400: *contrada che si dice la Piazza de Misso buccio de Romano*. Deed in the Archives of Sto Spirito.

whom belonged S. Maria della Torre, so-called from the tower of Leo IV., which still stood on the shore. The whole bank of the river, where S. Michele now stands, was called the "Ripa Grande," but also, as in the distant Middle Ages, "Ripa Romea." Toll-houses, to watch over the importation more especially of wine, stood there, and the gardens extended as far as the Porta Portese. To the commercial traffic also was probably due the settlement of a colony of Genoese. Their hospital church of S. Giovanni was erected by Meliaduce Cicala, treasurer of Sixtus IV., in 1481.¹ The district under Monte d'Oro was covered by fields. The lonely convent church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Vico Aureo or in Mica Aurea, which had belonged to the Benedictines in the seventh century, still remained there.² This church had been rebuilt by Sixtus IV., with the convent, which was the abode of several noble Roman ladies. Gardens also filled the district round the Franciscan church, which had been built by Rudolf of Anguillara in 1231.

Settlement
of Genoese.

Trastevere enjoyed the advantage of the Sabatine Aqueduct, which drove the mills on the Janiculum. Millers, potters and tanners, wool-dressers, fishermen and boatmen, vine-dressers and gardeners formed the rude and vigorous population of this, the most

¹ Panciroli, *Tresori*, p. 606.

² In the register of the convent, Giovanni is recorded as the first abbot, A.D. 685. The church afterwards belonged to Farfa. In 1234 it was given to the order of S. Clare. Galetti, MS. Vat. 7955.—In a bull of John XVIII. (March 29, 1005) in Pflugk—Hartung, *Acta Pont. R. ined.*, ii. n. 93, the convent is designated *in loco, qui vocatur mica aurea*.

densely inhabited quarter of Rome. From the time of Pompey it had also been the abode of many Jews. As late as 1520 an open Piazza near S. Francesco a Ripa was called the Campo Giudeo.¹

Island in
the Tiber.

The island in the Tiber was connected by bridges with Trastevere and Rome. On it stood the churches of S. Bartolommeo, S. Giovanni (Colabita) and S. Maria with a convent of Benedictine nuns, from which in the sixteenth century the present hospital took its rise. Hard by the Ponte Quattro Capi stood a palace of the Gaetani, with its tower, which still exists.

Renowned
families
in the
Trastevere.

About 1500 the chief families of Trastevere were the Alberteschi, Anibaldi di Molar, Benedetti, Berardi, Bonaventura, Bondii, Bonjanni, Bonosi, Buzii, Caranzoni, Castellani, Cerocii, Dello Ciotto, Cialdera, Cincii, De Cinque, Clodii, Dannosi, Dati, Farinosi, Franchi, Frangipani, Galli, Guidoleni, Guidoni, Jacobi, Judei, Juliani, Justi, Librandi, Luzi, Macarani, Maglioni, Mattei, Nisci, Obicioni, Paladini, Pantaleoni, Peregrini, Pierleoni, Ponziani, Rainerii, Romani or de Roma, De Romaulis, Rugieri, Spotorni, Stefaneschi, Teoli, Torti, Torquati, Tozi, Velloni, Venturini.²

¹ Andr. Fulvius, Paragraph *Janiculus*.

² I take the names of the families of the different regions from documents and official registers, such as the *officiales almae urbis*, which were compiled in the time of Nicholas V. by Marco Guidi, secretary to the Senate. I made use of the MS. in the Angelica. In 1887 it was published by O. Tommasini (*Atti de' Lincei*). I further made use of the *Repertorio di Famiglie* of Domenico Jacovacci of *saec. XVII.*, several MS. folio volumes in the Vaticana. I have not been able to record the Gaetani in any region. They did not come to the city until a late date. Several families are found in

Region Ponte.—We return to the Bridge of S. Angelo, in order to proceed thence to the quarter Ponte, which, leading as it did to S. Peter's, was the scene of great animation. This region, as far as the Ponte Sisto, the Campo di Fiori and the Navona, was in general the most bustling part of Rome, the quarter of the bankers, the courtiers, the leading courtesans, and the chief centre of business. The greater part from the city walls to the river had been rebuilt; the Porta Aurelia, the triumphal arches of Valentinian and Gratian had long been destroyed. The church of S. Celso alone still stood as formerly, and was only rebuilt in the time of Julius II. The piazza in front had been enlarged by Nicholas V., it was however so crowded by tradesmen's booths that only the bridge remained open.¹ The streets leading to it were already in existence; on the right the Posterula, on the left the Canal del Ponte, in the middle the Via del Panico.

The Posterula received its name from a gate in the ancient wall of the river, and the Church of S. Maria in Posterula still exists near the Orso. Further on the street received the name of Torre di Nona, from a tower in the city walls, which was at first in possession of the Orsini and was afterwards used by the popes as a prison.² The Via Posterula continued

different regions at the same time. The long continuance of families in Rome is surprising; many have remained in the same spot since *sæc. XI.*

¹ An enclosed spot before the bridge served as a place of execution as early as 1488. Martinelli, *R. ricercata*, p. 11. Even in 1744 a lane was called *Via del Boja*: Bernardini, *Rioni di R.*, p. 102.

² This as early as 1410. A document of September 1345 calls

along the Tiber; the lower part which had been paved by Sixtus IV. was called Sistina, after him. This district was then as now the scene of great traffic, and undoubtedly the much frequented inn "all'Orso" existed there in the fifteenth century.

Quarter of
the Banks.

The Via called Canal del Ponte, because during inundations of the Tiber it resembled a canal, (now the Via del Banco di S. Spirito), was the quarter where the bankers of Florence, Siena and Genoa carried on financial transactions with the Camera Apostolica, the greatest financial institution then existing in the world. The Spanocchi, the Calvi Spinelli and Cigala, the Vivaldi, Ricasoli, Torna-buoni and Medici had branch establishments in this district; the Pazzi and Altoviti also lived near the bridge of S. Angelo.¹ Further on stood the great Palazzo Borgia with the Piazza Pizzo Merlo behind. The entire district speedily became the splendid quarter of the Florentines, who built their church of S. Giovanni here. But in 1500, gardens and some insignificant churches occupied the spot,

John Jacobello Orsini owner of the *turris q. vulgar. nuncupatur Torre della Nona—in contrata posterulae*: Adinolfi, *Il canale di Ponte*, Roma, 1860. In the register of the property of the *Societas S. Salvatoris* (Archives S. Sanctor.) of 1410 I find: *domum cum turri que fuit olim Johis Jacobelli de Ursinus—que dicitur la presone dello papa*. *Nona* has been explained as the number, but the derivation from *Annona* is more correct. In documents the tower is called *Turris Annonae*. Corvisieri, *Posterule tiberine*, *Archivio della soc. Rom.*, vol. i., a. 1878, p. 118.

¹ *In aedibus Passianis prope Pontem Adriani*, says Jacopo Volaterr., p. 121, *ad ann.* 1481. The Altoviti palace was already built. An inscription in the court says that in 1514 Bindus de Altovitis restored this house, which he had bought from his father.

although the Via Giulia, afterwards laid out by Julius II., already existed as an irregular street. Among gardens stood the ancient church S. Biagio de Cantu Secutu (now della Pagnotta). In the time of Sixtus IV. the Via Lombarda, the Via Florida and the Mercatoria led through this district to the bridge.¹

The name of the third chief street, Via di Panico, still survives.² It led to Monte Giordano. About 1500 this ancient Orsini quarter was still surrounded by walls. Issuing thence the wayfarer was lost in a labyrinth of unpaved streets; only the Via dei Coronari, at that time the Via Recta, and inhabited by merchants, led straight to S. Agostino, while from the street of the ancient Banks a crooked way led to the Navona, and on the other side little lanes ran to the Campo di Fiore. The Vita Recta ended in the piazza in front of the Torre Sanguigni, where the houses of this family stood; the tower still remains.³ The surrounding district, which formed a sort of semi-circle round the Navona, was thickly populated, and after the time of Sixtus IV. contained some important buildings. There stood the beautiful house of Girolamo Riario on the spot occupied by the

¹ Sixtus IV. proceeded from the *Campus Florae* by the *Via Florida et Mercatorio* (or *et recta Mercatoria*), *ad Adriani Pontem*. Jacopo Volater.

² It is thought to owe its name to a relief representing birds picking seeds of millet (*panico*).—In 1490 a house is designated *in reg. Pontis in loco qui dicitur. Lo panico*: Bullar. Vat., ii. 142. The *contrata quae dicitur la imagine de Ponte* led to Monte Giordano.

³ See concerning the entire quarter, Adinolfi, *La Torre de' Sanguigni e S. Apollinare*, Rome, 1863.

present Palazzo Altemps. In the neighbourhood was the Piazza Fiammetta, which had received its name from a mistress of Caesar Borgia.¹ A church S. Salvatore in Primicerio still recalls the earliest period of the Papacy. From the Palazzo Riario the street led to the piazza of the Church of S. Apollinare. The palace connected with it had been rebuilt by Estouteville and was accounted very magnificent, especially since it had been decorated by the cardinals Girolamo Basso and Lionardo Grosso. At this time houses and fields alternated with one another in this district; everything was irregular and incomplete. Vegetable gardens covered the ground where the new church S. Maria della Pace arose and where it was intended to build the hospital church of the Germans.

Families
of Ponte.

The families of Ponte were the Aczoti, Alexii, Andreozzi, Bartolommei, Bernabei, Bonadies, Bonaventura, Cambii, Castelli, Capo de Janni, Cesarini, Clodii, Lancelotti, Laurentii-Statii, Lelli, Maffei Malglottii, Martelli, Dello Mastro or de Magistris, Mercante, Mosca, Nardi, Orsini, Parisii, Petroni, Pontani, Quatrocchi, Sanguinei, Sassi, Lo Schiavo, Serruberti, Simeoni, Stecchati, Surdi, Tebaldeschi, Tocii, Tolomei, Vajani.

Region VI.,
Parione.

Region Parione.—This part of the city, strongly built and remarkable for its structures, lay between two ancient monuments, the Theatre of Pompey and the Stabium of Domitian. The space which

¹ Adinolfi gives an extract from her will. The *honesta mulier D. Fiammetta Michaelis de Florentia habitatrix Reg. Pontis* died February 19, and was buried in S. Agostino.

these buildings had formerly filled had now become the chief squares of Rome, the Campo di Fiore and the Navona.

After the time of Sixtus IV. the first formed a centre of civic life. Palaces arose around it. On one side towered S. Lorenzo in Damaso with the still unfinished but magnificent palace of the present Cancellaria. On the other, above the ruins of Pompey's theatre, had long stood the houses of the Orsini and the palace of Francesco Condulmer. The remains of the theatre had disappeared. Buried within its ruins were the Torso of the Belvedere and the bronze Hercules, which were only excavated in 1864. Rows of houses stood on the spot where the theatre had formerly stood; behind the Palazzo Condulmer the "Satrium," which occupies the site of the ancient orchestra, still reminds us of the earlier building.¹ Adjoining this Palace at the back was the still existing church of the Orsini, S. Maria in Grotta Pinta.

Theatre of Pompey.

The lively traffic of which the Campo di Fiore was the scene gave rise to the erection of the first of the larger inns of Rome, the taverns of the Cow, the Angel, the Bull, the Crown and the Sun. Of these the Albergo del Sole still exists. This hotel, now the oldest in Rome, which has sheltered travellers from every land for four hundred years and perhaps longer, was built from the materials of Pompey's

Earliest inns in Rome.

¹ Blondus improperly explains *Satrium* as derived from *Atrium curias Pompeianae*, "Roma Instaur.," ii. 112. The piazza still called *dei Satiri* received its name from figures of satyrs. Two statues of Pan, now in the courtyard of the Conservatori, were found there.

theatre. It is a dark gloomy structure with a low vaulted entrance, and is capable of being barricaded like a fortress. An ancient sarcophagus still serves as a fountain in the inner courtyard.¹ It was merely by accident that this inn and that of the Campana are mentioned for the first time in 1489, when we are told that on May 6 Otto, Duke of Brunswick, put up with twenty-nine horses in the Campana, and on September 13 the French ambassador Guillelmus de Pithanea in the Sun.² The two inns were then the best in Rome, but undoubtedly of a very primitive character. The travellers who alighted at either might be prepared any day to witness an execution from their windows, or to behold corpses swinging from the gallows, for the Campo di Fiore, the "Field of Flowers," served as the place of execution for Rome. Very curiously also the "Via della Berlina

¹ The picturesque loggie and staircase in this court, by their Gothic style, showed that the building belonged at least to the fourteenth century. They were unfortunately destroyed in a restoration of the year 1869.

² *Ad Solis Tabernam juxta Campum Flore. — Fuit hic idem dux cum equis XXIX. in hospitio Campanae prope Campum Florae hospitatus* (Burkard, *ad A.* 1489). In 1482 Eberhard of Würtemberg alighted at a house in the Regola which had been prepared for him by some knights of the Teutonic Order (Jacob. Volat., p. 166). A second inn, "del Sole," in the style of the early Renaissance, existed in the vicolo of the same name beside S. Maria in Aquiro until 1872.—An inn, "del Cedro," stood in the Via della Stufa, now "Gigli d'oro" (Adinolfi, *Torre Sanguig.*, p. 56). Vanozza owned an osteria "del Leone," near Tordinona, and also the "Vacca," on the Campo di Fiore. In the time of Leo X., besides these inns there are mentioned also the *Capo d'oro*, *Lion d'oro*, *Paraiso*, *Fontana*, *Gallo*, *Rosa*, *Diamante*, *Falcone*, *Cicogna*, and the celebrated *Taverna dell' Orso*. Armellini, *un censimento di Roma*. . . Rome, 1882, p. 142.

Vecchia," the place of the pillory, has been transformed into the Via del Paradiso.¹

The district of the Campo di Fiore was inhabited then as now by numerous merchants and artisans, and already in the fifteenth century there existed the Polleria, or market for poultry, beside the Via dei Baullari or Trunk-makers. Imposing houses, too, such as the palace of Geronimo Pichi, had already risen on the spot.² The Via dei Baullari, at that time a part of the Via Papale, led and still leads to the palaces of the Massimi. Since ancient times this family had dwelt on the same spot, the Papal Way, or the Via de Maximis. About 1500 the palace did not wear its present aspect, but a portico of granite columns already existed, whence its inhabitants were called del Portico, in the same way that they are now called "alle Colonne."³ The Massimi dwelt in several houses around, also in that on the Via del Paradiso, where the inscription by Geronimo Zorzi on the inundation of the Tiber of 1495 is built into the wall.

Palazzo
Pichi.

Palaces
of the
Massimi.

From the house of the Massimi the street led to the piazza Siena, which received its name from the palace of Cardinal Piccolomini. This magnificent house was afterwards pulled down with the Church of S. Sebastian, when the Church of S. Andrea della

Piazza di
Siena.

¹ Adinolfi: *Via sacra o del Papa*, p. 41.

² Adinolfi, *ut supra*, p. 40. The *domus Hieronymi de Picis* is also prominently mentioned by Albertini on account of its paintings and its court. The palace afterwards came into the possession of the Manfroni.

³ Concerning this palace, see the Album of Rome, *Anno XIV.* Adinolfi, *ut supra*, p. 44.

Valle was built. On the other side a way led to the Navona, where were seen the Church of S. Pantaleo, and the houses of the Muti and the Maza-tosti, and lastly the huge palace of Count Francesco Orsini, on the spot now occupied by the Palazzo Braschi. Here the so-called Pasquino group was discovered. It is probable that this world-renowned fragment—a masterpiece of finished excellence and probably Greek—may formerly have adorned the Stadium of Domitian. It remained half excavated, and in wet weather the rain coursed down the marble back of the principal figure, until the art-loving cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, who inhabited the palace, caused the group to be placed on a pedestal in 1501.¹ The figure was believed to be that of Hercules strangling Geryon, and Visconti first explained it, with more or less ground, as Menelaus carrying the dead Patroclus.² This statue had been

¹ With the inscription : *Olivieri Caraffa Beneficio Hic sum Anno Salutis MDI*. It was moved to its present position in 1791. In the edition of the *Carmina ad Pasquillum Herculem* of 1510 an epigram says :

*Debebit Carrapha tibi Pasquille in aevum
Qui facis extinctum ne sibi nomen eat
Assidue ante tuas custos sedet integer aedes
Tu famam servas illius egregiam
Taurorum oblectant alios certamina sed tu
Doctorum musis excolis ingenia.*

² Prospettivo Milanese says :

*Eccì un mastro Pasquille in Parione
Dal sasso spinse el suo nemico in aria
Questo è colui che estinse Gerione.—*

Cancellieri, *Notizie delle due famose statue di Pasquino e Marforio*, Rome, 1854. L. Ulrich's *Ueber die Gruppe des Pasquino*, Bonn, 1867. [Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildur*, 1885, no.

partially destroyed during Rome's barbarous days, but strangely enough awoke to new life with the name of Pasquino as the humorous Democritus of Rome, the sarcastic enemy of all public and private barbarism. The popular name of Pasquino was adopted for the torso as early as the end of the fifteenth century, and was said to be derived from a witty tailor who had his shop in the neighbourhood or from a schoolmaster. The name was then extended to the satires which it was customary to affix to the statue.¹ These were more than usually numerous on the festival of S. Mark, April 25. On this day the priests of S. Lorenzo in Damaso were wont to rest for a time on an adjacent stone seat, and because this seat was covered with rugs for the purpose the custom arose of decorating the mutilated statue itself. Artists satisfied themselves with colouring the face and putting clothes upon it, while literary men attached verses to the pedestal. According to the circumstances of the moment the torso assumed

The
group of
Pasquino.

1397.] Luigi Morandi, *Pasquino e Pasquinate* (*N. Antologia*, 1889 f.). Domenico Guoli, *Le origini di Maestro Pasquino* (*ibid.*, 1890).

¹ The introduction to the *Carmina quae ad pasquillum fuerunt posita in A. MCCCCCIX.* says of the torso: *jacuit ac sordibus obducta annos complures: contra illam literator seu magister ludi cui Pasquino Pasquillove erat nomen habitabat, unde post statuæ nomen inditum est.* This first collection of pasquinades was published in Rome without the name of the printer, who was undoubtedly Giacomo Mazzochi, printer to the Roman Academy. The second collection (of 1500) bears his name. D. Guoli, in opposition to Morandi, has shown that the pasquinades originally were neither popular nor satirical, but literary and academical. However, even though we admit this, it is true that Pasquino in time became the satirist of Rome, and Pope Adrian VI. wished to throw him into the river.

Pasquin-
ades.

the strangest forms; it was Minerva, Jupiter, Apollo, Proteus, the goddess Flora, Harpocrates the god of Silence. In 1509 Pasquino spoke under the form of Janus and issued no fewer than 3000 epigrams; the following year he represented Hercules strangling the Hydra, and on S. Mark's day innumerable verses glorified Pope Julius II. as subjugator of the Venetian lion.¹ A literature of Latin epigrams thus arose in Rome, which occasionally, and particularly in later years, was of a character sarcastic enough to have provoked the smiles of the ancient satirists. This Pasquinade poetry produced offshoots in other nations, and flourished in great vigour in Germany during the Reformation and in Hutten's days. Nor in modern times, when the voice of the people dared not make itself heard, has Pasquino refrained from his witty speeches. His mockery accompanied the events of the Papacy and of history in general. Nor even now has he been entirely silenced, nor will he be so long as this remarkable marble figure endures.

The
Navona.

In 1500 the Navona was probably of the same dimensions as it is now. It was not, however, entirely surrounded by houses, several gardens still remaining around it. Andrea Fulvio beheld the rows of seats of the Stadium.² Sixtus IV. had removed the city market to the Navona, and here it

¹ *Carmina ad Pasquillum Herculem A. 1510:*

Quot Proteus variis vertit sua membra figuris

Pasquillo totidem Roma dat ora suo

Nam nunc Harpocrates Cyllenius aut dea Florum

Et nunc Alcides max at Asellus erit.

² *Extabant undique sedilium signa—De Urbis antiq., 270.*

remained until 1869.¹ This, the largest piazza of Rome, had become the Circus Maximus of the Renaissance, where the Carnival games, even races, tournaments and theatrical representations were given, so that the ancient Stadium again fulfilled its original purpose. Beside the palazzo Orsini and the houses of the Cibò (on the site of the Palazzo Pamfili) the piazza was only adorned by the Church of S. Agnes and the Spanish S. Giacomo. To the side stood S. Caterina in Agone, now called Nicolo dei Lorenesi, opposite the hospital of dell' Anima; then the palazzo Mellini, the tower of which still remains.² The street called after it led to the Via del Parione, the ancient road which still gave its name to the entire region.³ There the Sassi, a family related to the Amateschi, owned a large palace with numerous antiquities. S. Tommaso in Parione, a Church of the twelfth century with the Collegium Nardini beside it, still remains, and an adjoining piazza was called Platea Parionis. Numerous copyists, who had enjoyed a golden age

¹ When the Navona was paved in 1869 it was removed to the Campo di Fiore. While I was writing this (in January 1870) a part of the wall of entrance to the Stadium was discovered in making excavations at the Palazzo Braschi.—Concerning the Navona, see Cancellieri, *Il Mercato*, etc.

² The Mellini had dwelt there for centuries. The first mention of the family known to me is in 1026, when a John Mellini is spoken of in Regio IX. (Galetti, *del Primicerio*, p. 259). This region included the Navona.

³ I have already shown that the derivation of the name from Apparitores is wrong, and that it is to be explained instead from a "great wall," a fragment of an ancient ruin. Vol. iii. 558 (note) of this history.

under Nicholas V., dwelt in this region. They formed a corporation of their own and had their chapel in the church of S. Tommaso.

The Via Parione led to the present Via del Governo Vecchio, the name of which is unknown to us in the fifteenth century. Imposing buildings had already been begun within it. Here was seen the Palazzo Nardini, the back of which extended to the Via Parione. Opposite, but to one side, the still existing house called de Turcis arose in 1500, but not until the sixteenth century was the street filled with important buildings. Side streets led to the dwelling of the Savelli, from which a police-prison took the name Corte de' Savelli, and to the palace built by Urbano Fieschi, Count of Lavagna, Protonotary of Sixtus IV. From a neighbouring fountain this palace was called di Pozzo Albo¹; it is the present Palazzo Sora. The same fountain gave the surname (di Vallicella or Chiesa nuova) to the Church of S. Maria. This district was also in process of being rebuilt.

Families in
Parione.

The families of Parione were : Amateschi, Amici, De Angelis, Anzolini, Astalli, Barbarini, Calvi, Capponi, Cardini, Catellini, Cipriani, Curtebraca, Fabi, Federici, Fusarii, Ilperini, Leoni, Mancini, Marcellini, Mattuzi, Mazatosta, Maximi, Mellini, Orsini, Palluzelli, Pichi, Ranalli, De Roma, Rosa, Sassi, Savelli, Signoretti, Sinibaldi, De Spiritibus, Stinchi, Scappuzzi, Tartari, Tebaldeschi, Ubaldini, Valentini, Vecchia, Vincentii.

Region
VIII., S.
Eustachio.

Region of S. Eustachio.—The centre of this

¹ *Domus cum turri de Flisco apud puteum Album* : in Albertini.

closely-built region was the church of the same name. Great buildings, such as the university, already stood around it, and in its neighbourhood a palace, said to have been erected by Cardinal Melchior Copis. Until 1505, however, its possessor was Guido Lotterius, Count of Montorio, whose brother Sinolfo had sumptuously decorated it. It had hitherto been rented to Cardinal Giovanni Medici, who placed his library and many antiquities within it. On July 2, 1505, he, or rather his brother Julian and his nephew Lorenzo Medici, bought it for the sum of 10,100 ducats, and the palace thus remained the property of the family, until under Paul III. it passed into the hands of the Farnese. From Margaret, daughter of Charles V. and wife of Ottavio Farnese, it received the name of Palazzo Madama. It was rebuilt in 1642.¹ The piazza in front was called Lombardi, and from it a street led to the Navona. Of the ancient churches beside it, which had formerly belonged to Farfa, Salvatore in Thermis (from the *Thermae* of Nero) still remained, but S. Maria in Thermis disappeared in the building of S. Luigi dei Francesi. Both churches had already been presented by Sixtus IV. to the French nation for the foundation of a hospital. The remains of the ancient baths still existed.

¹ The palace was later called del Granduca, after it had been restored to the Grand-duke of Tuscany. Deed of sale of July 2, 1505, in the *Registr. Beneimbene*. *Quod totum palat. et edes situm et site sunt in Rue S. Eustachii iuxta plateam vulg. Lombardor. nuncup. et ante dict. plateam in forum Agonis prospicientem et juxta alias vias publicas a duob. laterib. alteram qua itur ad plat. S. Eust. alteram qua itur ad Eccam S. Luisii et plateam Saponariam.* The palace had a garden.

Palazzo
Valle.

From the Piazza dei Lombardi the traveller proceeded to the quarter where the church of the Augustinians stood, and further to where the Palazzo Crescenzi faced the Pantheon. Another street led past the University to the quarter della Valle and back to the Piazza Siena. The family della Valle there owned several palaces, which perished afterwards in the constructions of Cardinal Andrea. In the same district dwelt the Quatracci and also the Caffarelli. The Caffarelli palace was afterwards rebuilt, and called after the Cardinals Stoppani or Vidoni.

Palazzo
Cesarini.

In the same street dwelt the Albertini, and the Orsini of Nola, further on the Cesarini. This family had settled on the spot which was called Calcaranum, from the lime quarries into which the ruins of the Flaminian Circus had been turned. In the twelfth century this quarter had been called Regio Vineae Tedemarii, from the vineyards of a German Teudemar. There stood two very ancient churches, which still exist, S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi and S. Nicolò, both with the surname "a Cesarini." A tower, Torre Argentina, arose here, opposite which the younger Cardinal Julian Cesarini had adorned his family palace with a magnificent portico.¹ Other

¹ S. Nicolò de' Cesarini belongs to Pigna; the family itself is recorded in Ponte in the Register of 1447. At places where the regions border one another I have not always held strictly to the boundaries. The Cesarini already dwelt here in *saec. XIV.*, for in 1369 *Angela uxor quond Giuilelmi Cesarii de Cesarinis de reg. Vineae Thedemarii* sold a palace beside *S. Nicol. de Calcarario*; (see *Jacovacci, Famiglie*, on this family). According to Ratti (*Famil. Cesarini*) the palace was founded by George Cesarini (in the middle of *saec.*

ancient churches which still survive in the region Eustachio are the convent of S. Anna, which formerly belonged to the Templars, and in its neighbourhood S. Elena (or at that time S. Nicolò de Molinis) and S. Maria surnamed in Publicolis. The ancient monuments of this quarter have disappeared, with the exception of some insignificant remains, among them the Arco della Ciambella, a fragment of the baths of Agrippa. The whole region now bears the stamp of solid, wealthy and grandiose architecture, and consequently appears as the centre of the modern city.

The families of S. Eustachio were the Alberini or Ilperini, Astalli or Staglia, Balistari, Bellomo, Boncore, Bonelli, Caffarelli, Carducci, Castaldi, Catagna, Cavalieri, Cenci, Cesarini, Ceuli, Cosciari, Crescenzi, Fedeli, Filippini, Galuzzi, Lelli, Mancini, Marchisani, Maximi, Musciani, Muti, Neri, Paparoni, Pichi, Quattraccia, Reinerii, Rezzosi, Rustici, Savelli, Simeoni, Stati, Surdi, Tebaldi, Tomai, Tomarozzi, Valeriani, Valle, Vardella, Veterani, Vettori, Zaccaria.

Region Arenula or Regola.—This important region of the city, which stretched from Ponte to the Ghetto, was always thickly inhabited by a people who boasted of their genuine Roman blood, and still preserves much of its ancient character. Here houses of pre-Gothic style with columned porticoes may still be seen. Although it had several squares,

Families
in S.
Eustachio.

Region
VII.,
Arenula or
Regola.

XV.). It was finished by Cardinal Julian (who died in 1510); he also bought the Torre Argentina, which stood opposite, and which is said to have been built by Cardinal Franc. Argentino under Julius II.

one for instance called from the Orsini Platea Tagliacociae,¹ the Regola had no central point, in the form of a principal church, or a great piazza. Only insignificant churches stood in this quarter. S. Brigitta on the present Piazza Farnese, where the magnificent palace had not yet been erected ; Maria in Monticelli, Paolo in Arenula, Benedetto in Arenula, from which the great Hospital de' Pellegrini arose in 1614 ; S. Maria in Cacaberis, so called from the Cacabarium of the Middle Ages or the Crypt of Balbus, in which the potters had made their abode. The present Church of S. Maria de Planctu was then still called S. Salvatore de Cacabariis. The chief street, del Monserrato, already existed, although not under this name, for the Spanish Church to which it leads was only built in 1495. The English hospital already stood there. The reconstruction of the Ponte Sisto, by which Trastevere was again connected with the Regola, added to the traffic in this quarter ; the entire bank of the Tiber, however, was still covered with gardens.

Celebrated families dwelt in the gloomy towered palaces of the Regola, such as the Cenci, the Capodiferro, Andreozzi, Branca and Santa Croce. From the fact that the street which led past the palace of the Santa Croce ended in the Campo di Fiore, it

¹ The names of the squares and streets of Rome were frequently changed. In 1389 I find a *Contrata Turris Perforatae in reg. Arenule*. In Pinea in 1492 *contrata Porta delli Pesti*. In Ponte a street *Saccalupo*, a *contrata La Fossa ; delle Incarcerate ; via della Palma* (now *Arco di Parma*).

was called Florida. It had been improved by Sixtus IV., as is shown by an inscription which still exists in the Vicolo dei Balestrari,¹ and led downwards towards Monte Cincio, where, above the ruins of the theatre of Balbus, the Cenci dwelt in their ancient fortress-like palace.² Below it, in the tanners' quarter beside the Tiber and not far from the ancient synagogue, was seen the actual house of Cola di Rienzo. Here the Jews already dwelt in great numbers, and the piazza in front of the Palazzo Cenci was already called Campus Judaeorum or la Giudecca.³ From it the traveller reached the Region S. Angelo.

Cenci
Palace.

The families of the Regola were :—the Alberici, Alessii, Andreozzi, Antonazzi, Armandi, Barbarini, Bovesci, Branca, De Capo, Capo di Ferro, Caranzoni, Carnari, Cellini, Cenci, Ciampolini, Cintolini, Santa Croce, Gabrielli, Gotti, Gottifredi, Guarnerii, Herculini, Janozzi, Juvenalis, Laurentii Stati, De Leis, Manlii, Mannetti, Marani, Mazabufalo, Numoli, Oddoni, Paloni, Palma, Pantalei, Paparoni, Planca,

Families
in the
Regola.

¹ *Quae modo putris eras et olenti sordida coeno
Plenaque deformis martia terra situ
Exuis hanc turpem Xysto sub Principe formam.
Omnia sunt nitidis conspicienda locis.
Digna salutifero debentur premia Xysto.
O quantum est summo debita Roma Duci.*
—Via Florea.

*Baptista Archioneus et } curatores viar. Anno Salutis
Ludovicus Marganeus } MCCCCLXXXIII.*

² In 1368 I find *Balnei de Cinthiis* mentioned in the *reg. Arenulae*.

³ At the time when Albertini wrote (in 1506), the palace of Manilius, the inscription of which may still be read, stood on the piazza.

Rossi, Rustici, Salomoni, Sanctigrandi, Scotti, Specchi, Stinchi, Susanna, Surrentini, Vaschi.

Region
XI., S.
Angelo.

Region S. Angelo.—Three ancient monuments formed the chief features of this no less ancient and gloomy quarter, the Pescheria or Fishmarket round the ruins of the Portico of Octavia, the Theatre of Marcellus and the Circus Flaminius. This region, built out of ruins and rubbish, was a network of narrow, damp and gloomy alleys, which ran between these ancient monuments. No contrast could be greater than the picture of former splendour, presented by the marble temples and porticoes with which this district was filled, and its actual condition. In the Middle Ages it had been the scene of furious warfare between the nobles, and in 1500 old and new families still dwelt in their turreted palaces.

The region was traversed by two main streets; one led from the Piazza degli Ebrei to S. Angelo and the Theatre of Marcellus; the other from the Campo di Fiore to the palazzo Mattei, which ran parallel to the Via delle Botteghe Oscure.

Portico of
Octavia.

The Jews had long dwelt in the present Ghetto. But dwellings of the nobles, such as the abode of the Boccapaduli, already stood there; and even close to S. Angelo may still be seen the palatial houses of the Renaissance, a house in particular called by the people that of Pilate. The ancient Church of S. Angelo, which has been entirely pulled down and rebuilt in our own days, still retained the aspect of a basilica in the middle of the Portico of Octavia, the remains of which were more imposing then than now. Covered with rubbish, here lay the fairest of marble

goddesses, the Venus de Medici, over whose grave, in the dirtiest of all markets, Jews offered fish from the Tiber for sale on slabs of ancient marble. From the Fishmarket, the most sinister and perhaps the most curious part of Rome, the wayfarer proceeded to the Piazza of the island bridge, which from its terminal statues was called Quattro Capi, and then to the Theatre of Marcellus. This blackened ruin scarcely differed from its present aspect. Within it a hill had long since been formed by rubbish, on which, enclosed by the walls of the theatre, stood with its towers the house of the Savelli.¹ Artisans already dwelt in the dark arches of the vaults.

Theatre of
Marcellus.

The space between the Theatre of Marcellus and the Palazzo Mattei was filled by a few houses, most of them with gardens. In the fifteenth century the Mattei, a family related to the Papareschi, had built a palace on one side of the Circus Flaminius, the boundaries of which were marked by this palace, by the Convent Dominae Rosae in castro aureo, by the Palazzo Margani and the church of S. Salvatore in Pensilis, finally by the Via delle Botteghe Oscure. Behind the Piazza degli Ebrei in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Mattei stood, and still stands, the ancient convent of S. Ambrogio della Massima, a surname which is probably wrongly derived from a side canal of the Cloaca Maxima which flowed beside it. To the side still rises the huge Palazzo Costaguti, a structure of the sixteenth century. The buildings of later times have entirely changed the whole quarter; the Torre Cetrangoli, which is noted by

Palazzo
Mattei.

¹ Niebuhr lived in it as Prussian ambassador.

Andrea Fulvio, and beside which the Albertini dwelt, has vanished; the Convent Rosa has been transformed into the Church of S. Catarina de' Funari. The Palazzo Mattei, which with that of the Gaetani forms an *insula*, was rebuilt on a larger scale in the sixteenth century. Of the Palazzo Margani only the tower and an ancient doorway in the courtyard remain.¹ The church of S. Salvatore still exists under the name of S. Stanislao della Nazione Polacca. The ruins of the Circus Flaminius may still be discovered in the vaulted cellars of some houses. But about 1500 they were still sufficiently considerable, more especially in places here and there where the Area of the Circus resembled a field. Rope makers (funari) worked within it, and from them the Church of S. Catarina received its surname,² which was also borne by others, such as S. Andrea and S. Nicolò de Funariis.

Circus
Flaminius.

Families in
S. Angelo.

The families of S. Angelo were the Albertini, Alexii, Amistati, Arigoni, Baffi, Balestra, Barberii, Bastardelli, Belluomo, Dello Bianco, Buccamazi, Buccapaduli, Del Busto, Buondii, Calvi, Capranica, Carenzoni, Cosciari, Cotta, Della Franga, Franchi, Galgani, Gregorii, Guidoni, Jacobelli, Malameranda, Madaleni, Mancini, Mattei, Mazocchi, Nofrii, Paladini, Papiri, Particappa, Pellipari, Pizi, Ponziani, Plio, Prendi, Riccardini, Rocchi, Romauli, Sagona,

¹ In the register of 1447, the Mattei and Margani are recorded in the *Reg. Campitelli*. As early as 1400 a *Joh. Mattheus de Mattheis* was buried in S. Angelo in Pescaria (Jacovacci).

² It was built in 1549, after Ignatius Loyola had founded an institution there. For the founder of the Jesuits is said to have lived in the Palazzo Margani.

Salvati, Sanza, Serlupi, Stefanozzi, Tari, Tartaglia, Tomai, Tordonerii, Tozoli, Valarani, Vallati, Vulgamini.

Region Pigna.—The Via delle Botteghe Oscure forms the boundary of S. Angelo and the Region Pinea, a quarter of the city prominent by reason of its monuments and churches. The street led to the end of the Calcaranum, where the Palazzo Strozzi now stands, and in 1500 the Church of the Santi Quaranta alle Calcare took the place of the "Stigmata." The Via de' Cesarini seems at this time to have been called Pellicciaria.¹ With it was united the street Preta delli Pesci,² along which the solemn papal processions issued from the interior of the city, and passing by S. Marco, wended their way to the Lateran. We have frequently mentioned this papal way, the Via Sacra of the Middle Ages, that is to say the route taken by popes and emperors after their coronation from S. Peter's to the Lateran. But it must not be understood as consisting of any regular street, although at some places it was actually called the Via Papale.³ It remained essen-

Region
IX.,
Pigna.

The
Calcar-
anum.

Via
Papalis.

¹ Adinolfi, *Via sacra*, shows that the Calcarano extended from the Stimmate to S. Nicolò a Cesarini, and on to the Collegio Romano.

² *In questa nra. de Pellicciaria, et in nell' altra contigua et conioncta de Preta delli Pesci*, thus in a Roman MS. of the beginning of saec. XVI., entitled *Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri. Preta dei Pesci*, slabs of marble on which fish were exposed for sale.

³ Adinolfi has determined the course of this street by the Navona to the Palazzo Orsini of Nola. This Roman abbat published the two first volumes of his painstaking but disconnected materials for the topography of the mediaeval city under the title, *Roma nell' età di Mezzo*, in 1881, 1882 (Rome). The continuation of the work was unfortunately prevented by his death.

tially the same route described in the ancient books of ritual; the popes advanced across the Bridge of S. Angelo to Monte Giordano, to Parione, past the Pantheon and the Minerva, through the Calcaranum to S. Marco. This route is still taken by the papal processions.

In 1500 the Piazza del Gesù bore the name of the Alterii or Altieri, who owned a palace there. In place of the Jesuit church stood two small churches, S. Andrea and S. Maria della Strada. The Jesuits afterwards established themselves over the entire district and covered it with pretentious buildings; they reared the Church of the Gesù, built the Collegio Romano and S. Ignazio, on the site of which only the little Church dell' Annunziata had previously stood. After the seventeenth century the great buildings of the order and of the Roman nobility lent the neighbourhood a highly modern aspect. But as early as the end of the fifteenth century the palace and church of S. Marco stood there, a colossal structure, with which begins the architectural history of modern Rome. When Paul II., standing on the loggia of his palace, looked down into the Via Lata, he beheld this, the main street of the present city, stretch in a long
 The Corso. straight line to the Piazza del Popolo. Along its upper portion, the Via Recta of antiquity, large buildings had already risen, but further down were more and more gaps, until at length it was nothing more than a country road between vineyards. Of the triumphal arches which had formerly adorned the Via Flaminia, the Arch of Claudius on the Via

di Pietra, and further on the ruined Arch of Marcus Aurelius alone remained.

The present piazza of the Collegio Romano was not yet enclosed by imposing buildings. The convent of S. Marta stood on its lower side, and close by were the tasteless remains of a triumphal arch, the Arco Camigliano. The district, which had once been covered by a portion of the magnificent buildings of the Septa Julia, was called Camilianum, ^{Camili-} even in the early Middle Ages. The Via Piè di ^{-anum.} Marmo still leads thence to the Minerva. The colossal marble foot, from which the name is derived, stood here in 1556, and undoubtedly much earlier.¹

S. Maria sopra Minerva already wore its present ^{S. Maria} aspect, and its piazza was surrounded with houses. ^{Minerva.} In Blondus's time the poets Cencio Rustici, Battista de Lenis, the protonotary Giorgio Cesarini lived there, and further behind the present Hotel di Minerva stood the palace of the Porcari. Here a lane called Pinea (probably from the ancient image of a pine cone) led to the Piazza. And here the church of S. Giovanni della Pigna still remains. To the side between gardens and vineyards stood S. Stefano in Caco, where the magnificent groups of the Nile and the Tiber still lay buried under the dust of the ancient Iseum.

From the convent of the Minerva (the Giustiniani Minerva still lay undiscovered beneath the soil) the traveller passed at the back to the piazza of the church of S. Macuto, and here stood the little obelisk

¹ Aldobrandi, *Delle statue antiche*, Ven., 1556, p. 255, notes the *piède di Marmo presso Parco di Camillo su la piazza*.

The
Pantheon.

which now adorns the fountain in front of the Pantheon. In the time of Eugenius IV., this venerable monument, Rome's most precious pearl, had been cleared of the buildings with which the Middle Ages had surrounded it. At the beginning of the sixteenth century however a still greater number of buildings were added, so that the Pantheon became entirely enclosed. Before it still stood some antiquities, among them as their chief ornament the great porphyry bath and the two Egyptian lions.¹ The lead roof of the cupola had been restored by Nicholas V.; the steps of the atrium were already covered owing to the rise in the level of the soil.

Families
in Pigna.

The families of the Pigna were the Aegidii, Alberini, Alterii, Amadei, Amistadi, Anibaldi, Astalli, Balduzzi, Belli, Belomo, Beneaccaduti, Benedetti, Benzoni, Boccabella, Bongiovanni, Bordi, Cafari, Cambii, Capoccini, Capogalli, Cascia, Cavalieri, Celsi, Ciambetta, Cima, Civeri, Cossa, Cotica, Fabii, Finagrana, Frangipani, Gigli, Gottifredi, Infanti, Jordani, Leni, Longhi, Maddaleni, Maffei, Malaitri, Mancini, Marconi, Marteluzzi, Martini, Mentebuona, Musciani, Nelli, Pacca, Palosci, Papirii, Pepe, Perazzi, Peti, Petruzzi, Ponziani, Porcari, de Pupo, de Puteo, Quatraccia, Ramoraccia, Ricci, Ricciutoli, Rogerii, Romauli, Rossi, Rotolanti, Rufini, Rustici, Saragoni, Sarazani, Sassi, Satolli, Schiavo, Signorili, Simei, Smerigli, Stefani, Subatazzi,

¹ *Ipsumque Pantheon in Insulam redactum, undique perovium ac prope circumquaque absolutum.* Andr. Fulv., p. 362.—See the illustration of the Pantheon in Sadler, *il nuovo Teatro*, A.D. 1665.

Tanelli, Tara, Tartari, Teoli, Vannetti, Varcelloni, or Barcellona, Vari, Vecchia, de Vestis, Victorii, Zambecchari, Zuccari.

Region Ripa.—This region, which extended from S. Angelo along the Tiber over the Aventine to the gate of S. Paul and across the lower part of the Coelian to the Porta S. Sebastiano, has not been essentially altered. It consists of a small inhabited, and a large uninhabited, district. The inhabited quarter stretches from the Piazza Montanara and the Church of S. Nicolò in Carcere as far as the Aventine. Only a few old families such as the Pierleoni and Parenzii lived here. The neighbourhood of S. Maria in Cosmedin with the ancient Via Greca, the two ancient temples on the Tiber and the remains of the Torre di Nicolò beside the bridge, differed little from its present aspect. In the fifteenth century the public prostitutes dwelt in this quarter, which was the most disreputable of the city; hence Blondus called it a second Asylum. The patron saint of its denizens may have been that Egyptian Mary who from a *hetaera* became a saint, and who, curiously enough, was worshipped in the ancient temple of the so-called Fortuna Virilis, which was then held to be the Temple of Pudicitia.¹ Of the 5000 public courtesans who it is said lived in Rome in the time of Innocent VIII., it was only the lowest class who dwelt here as in a Ghetto; those of better station, who were known by such imposing Renaissance names as Julia, Silvia, Diana, Imperia, Fulvia, Olympia, Penthesilea, led luxurious lives in

Region
XII., Ripa.

Quarter
of the
Hetaerae.

¹ Blondus, *Roma Instaur.*, ii. 58.

beautiful houses in the most animated quarter of the city.¹

The Marmorata.

On the Aventine, where the Arch of Lentulus was already destroyed, the ancient emporium was covered by rubbish heaps and vineyards. The knowledge of this great storehouse of marble of imperial times, the excavation of which has only lately been begun, had probably vanished, although the name Marmorata had always been retained and the site of the Emporium remained known. And a little church called S. Nicolai in Marmoratis, whose foundation dated back to early times, still existed.² About the year 1500 remains of the ancient arsenals were still seen, and even in the eighteenth century were shown in the Vigna Cesarini over towards Testaccio.³

¹ Thirteen courtesans are enumerated by name as resident in the region Colonna and the parish of S. Salvatore de Cupellis, an aristocratic quarter. They thronged the regions Campo Marzo and Regola: *Censimento della città di Roma sotto—Leone X., Estratto dal periodico Gli Studi in Italia*, Rome, 1882: *Item Imperia et Maria cortesiana in casa di Marco Carapha. . . . Item Margherita tedesca cortesana in casa de Domenico Cecchino. . . .* We find courtesans of various nations, even Poles. Some are called in the *Censimento honesta cortigiana*, others *cortesana puttana*, or *de la minor sorte*. *Cortesana famosa* is also found. This merely fragmentary register enumerates altogether more than 200 *hetærae* in their dwellings.

² In the fourteenth century there were several churches with the surname *in Marmoratis*. *S. Salvator ad Marmoratam* is mentioned by Nerini, App. I. (Diploma of Otto III. for S. Bonifazio). There was even a family *de Marmoribus* (cursorily recorded in Jacovacci), like the present well-known Sardinian family of *La Marmora*.

³ In 1427 is found the expression *Portus Marmorata* (Nerini, *de Templo S. Bonifacii*, App. 555). To Visconti belongs the credit

The piazza in front of the hill of potsherd, ^{Monte Testaccio.} from the city walls to a tower at the foot of the Aventine, was used for the Carnival games. The pyramid of Cestius was enclosed within the walls, and here the road led from the Porta S. Paolo between vineyards to the basilica as at the present day.

The Aventine was deserted then as now, some ^{Aventine.} ancient churches alone towering there in spell-bound solitude. Blondus speaks of them as well-preserved. Several ruins were also visible in the gardens, and the fortress of the Savelli also stood in ruins.

Towards the Palatine and Capitol the eye encountered nothing but the gigantic ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, where the Flora of the Farnese Hercules and the Farnese Bull still lay buried in dust. The site of the Circus Maximus had long been deprived of all its buildings. The great obelisks were covered by grass and rubbish.

Of the ancient Velabrum nothing more remained ^{Velabrum.} than what we now behold—the Arch of Janus Quadrifrons, the Arch of the Goldsmiths beside S. Giorgio, and the Cloaca Maxima.

The aspect of the street leading to the Porta S. Sebastiano, with its ancient basilicas of S. Sisto, Cesario, Nereo and Achilleo, scarcely differed from that which it bears at the present day.

The families of the Ripa were the Arlotti, ^{Families in Ripa.} Barberii, Bastardella, Bartolommei, Buccabella,

of having energetically taken these excavations in hand. Had this wealth of marble been known in the Middle Ages, the wanton destruction of ancient monuments would have been diminished.

Carenzoni, Carosi, Cioffi, Corte, Fabii, Ferrari, Filippi, Guidoleni, Guidoni, De Insula, Lannari, Martini, Mazabufalo, Mercari, Palloni, Parenzi, Petrini, Pierleoni, Pleoni, Ricci, Rubei, Sabelli, Specchi, Stefanelli, Stimolati, Tari, Teoli, Trinci, Vallati, Velli.

Region X.,
Campitelli.

Region Campitelli.—The Capitol, the Palatine, the Forum and a part of the Coelian form this region, the centre of ancient Rome. Even in the Middle Ages the Capitol was the political centre of Roman life, and on the side towards the city always remained in some degree inhabited. The present Via di Aracoeli, as the street leading to the Capitol, ran from the Piazza Altieri to the great staircase and this, and also the broad façade of the Church, presented the same aspect as they do to-day. The ascent to the Capitol was still made from the side of the Arch of Severus, but paths also led to the city down the wild and abandoned slope. Some churches which took their names from the market, such as S. Giovanni and S. Biagio de Mercato, at the steps of Aracoeli, still exist.¹ After the removal of the city market life ebbed away even from the Piazza of the Capitol. Here stood in melancholy loneliness only two unpretending buildings, the ancient house of the Commune or Palace of the Senator, which had been restored by Sixtus IV., and the Palace of the Con-

The
Capitol.

¹ In the *Catastum* in the Archives S. Sanctor of 1410 I find : *domum terrineam et tegulatam pos. in mercato, ubi consueti sunt residere calsolarii. Intra hos fines cui ab uno latere est domus filior. qd. D. Gregorii de Marganis, ante est via publ. que dicitur Lo Mercato, et ab alio via per quam itur ad domos olim Banderesium.* The Banderesi consequently had a palace there.

servators with a columned portico built by Nicholas V. In it, as well as on the piazza itself, some antiquities were erected.¹ The space occupied by the present museum was filled by the gardens of the convent of Aracoeli, and here stood a small obelisk. Vineyards and ruins covered the entire space where the Palazzo Caffarelli now stands. Goats clambered over the Tarpeian rock, the Monte Caprino; and the entire hill with its numerous ruins of columns, porticoes and walls dividing vineyards, little houses and some narrow streets presented an indescribable spectacle of desolation. Blondus saw a considerable fragment fall from the Tarpeian rock. This *Rupes Tarpeja*, the ancient place of execution in Rome, served as such also in the Middle Ages. Criminals received sentence beside a basalt lion in the neighbourhood, and it was customary to place offenders of low class astride this lion, a mitre on their heads, and their faces smeared with honey. In 1488 the place of execution was transferred to the piazza in front of the bridge of S. Angelo.

Round the Capitoline hill some ancient churches existed which have now disappeared—thus S. Salvatore in Maximis towards the Montanara, and S. Salvatore in Aerario or in Statera beside S. Omobuono

¹ The group of the Lion attacking the Horse stood isolated opposite the spot occupied by the present Museum. Blondus beheld on the Capitol only the Senate house built by Boniface IX., in which, he says, a private individual would have scorned to dwell, and the convent of Aracoeli. A picture of the ancient Palazzo dei Conservatori is given by Gamucci about 1565, and by Du Perac, *I Vistigi dell' antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1575. The present Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Museum were only finished in *sæc. XVII.*

The Arch
of Severus.

Marforio.

and the Ospedale della Consolazione. The buildings here were still very few. The remains of temples on the Forum were scarcely more extensive than to-day. But since the present carriage road had not yet been planned, the side under the Tabularium presented the aspect of a vast world of ruins. The half-buried Arch of Severus still supported the little belfry of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus which stood behind it. The Salita di Marforio started then as now beside S. Martina, where opposite the Mamertine prison the statue of Marforio had stood since ancient times. Maffeo Vegio explains the name, which had long been in use, as derived from Martis Forum.¹ More probably, like the group of Pasquino, the statue received it from some Roman who lived there. At least an inscription records the name of a man called Marfoli precisely in the neighbourhood of S. Adriano.² The figure represents a river god and may have stood in the Forum of Augustus. From the fifteenth century onwards Roman satire placed epigrams in its mouth, and Marforio consequently became the twin brother of Pasquino. They conversed together, one on the ruins of the Capitol, the other on the Stadium of Domitian.

¹ M. Vegius, *Histor. Basil. Antiq. S. Petri Ap. in Vaticano*, in T. VI. *Junii*, Bolland, p. 68. n. 44.—Blondus, *Roma Inst.*, ii. 56. Cancellieri, *Notizie di Pasquino e Marforio*. Fulvius and others explain the name by *Nar Fluvius*, which is utterly improbable.

² A.D. 1452, *Nardus Marfoli de contrata S. Adriani sepultus in S. M. de Araceli*: (Jacovacci). From the existence of the name Marfoli, I am encouraged to put forward this hypothesis, which corresponds to the appellation of Pasquino, and undoubtedly provides the simplest explanation of the name *Marforio* or *Marfolio*.

Two mutilated marble effigies of antiquity thus became the representatives of public opinion in Rome. With the license of masqueraders they lashed the popes themselves and their government. They said what no one would have ventured to say. And to the witty conversation of these ancient statues was limited the freedom of parliamentary speech and the press among the Romans until the fall of the papal power.¹

In 1500 the aspect of the Forum was far different from that of to-day, even although the same churches and ruins existed, and although from above the higher level of the soil the three columns beside the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice and the column of Phocas then towered. Houses stood, however, on the Forum as far as the Arch of Titus. In front of the Portico of the Temple of Faustina, in which the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda was hidden like a chapel, stood a tower, the *Turris Pallara*, into which the *Arcus Fabianus* had apparently been converted, and there toll was taken for cattle.² For on this spot the cattle market had already been established. Swine were sold on the *Campo Vaccino*—as this decayed theatre of Roman dominion was now

The
Forum.

Campo
Vaccino.

¹ In the preface to the *Pasquillor.*, *Eleutheropoli* 1544, Pasquillus is rightly called : *publicus morum censor, ac vitæ magister, omniumque serior. pariter ac ridiculor. interpres. Quem si quis e medio tolleret, idem magnam bonamque partem libertatis, nec minimam item utilitatis e medio sublaturus esset.*

² This even in the time of Andreas Fulvius (iv. 301). The statement in the *Röm. Städtebeschr.*, iii. i. 274, that S. Lorenzo in Miranda is first mentioned in 1430, is wrong, for already in *XIII. sæc.* I find it among the churches mentioned in Cencius.

called—and on the spot where antiquaries sought for the ancient Comitium, and the sight evoked an indignant outburst from Blondus.¹ Artisans, who made two-wheeled carts and wooden yokes for oxen, had already established their quarters between the Arch of Severus and the Temple of Faustina, and this rural occupation is still diligently pursued in the neighbourhood.²

The Arch
of Titus.

Masses of fallen ruins filled the so-called Temple of Peace, in which the last of the magnificent columns still remained erect. It now stands in front of S. Maria Maggiore. Of the Temple of Venus and Rome all the granite columns were already broken and covered with rubbish. The Arch of Titus, half ruined and built up into the form of a tower, was supported only by the convent buildings of S. Maria Nuova (Francesca Romana), which immediately adjoined it.³ It still served however as a thoroughfare. Behind it stood the *Turris Cartularia*, the remains of the fortress of the Frangipani, which also lay in ruins.

The
Palatine.

Who can describe the immense world of ruins of the Palatine at this period? About the year 1500 it was the labyrinth of Rome, in which amid a thicket of climbing plants and olive trees philosophers and poets wandered and mused on the nothingness of all earthly grandeur. As Blondus sauntered here, like Cola di Rienzo before him, and

¹ *Roma Instaur.*, ii. 67.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 67. The *Vicus Jugarius* had likewise become the *Vicolo dei Gioghi* or *Giogari* (Yoke Street).

³ See the picture in Gammucci, and in Sadler.

in the silence of the ruins heard nothing but the sighing of the wind among the branches, the chirp of the grasshopper, and the melancholy bleating of the sheep that grazed around, he asked what could be thought of all that remained of Rome, when even great imperial palaces had sunk into a nameless wilderness.¹

None of the hills of Rome was so utterly deserted as this—the seat of the Caesars, the rulers of the world. Their overthrown marble palaces had lost name and form, like those of the kings of Babylon and the builders of the Pyramids. Nothing more remained of the Palatine than a little church hoary with age, S. Andrea in Pallara, which recalls the ancient Palladium, and in which was believed stood the tomb of Pope Joan.² Blondus there found two marble doors, the finest in Rome, remaining erect. Cardinal Domenico Capranica owned a vineyard there, and his family had moreover acquired possession of the ruins of the Palazzo Maggiore, which had formerly belonged to the monastery of S. Gregorio. The Capranica gardens were therefore the predecessors of the Farnese. The art treasures of the Palatine had long since been removed; only here and there were seen walls covered with beautiful frescoes on a background of Pompeian red.³ The

Ruins and
gardens
on the
Palatine.

¹ Playing on the word he now calls the Mons Palatinus *Balatinus*, from the bleating of the sheep, i. 76.

² Blondus and Gammucci only mention this church on the Palatine; it was identical with S. Maria in Pallara, and is now called S. Sebastiano; S. Lucia in Septemsoliis had perished.

³ The last statue found on the Palatine of much artistic value—the Apollo Sauroctonus—was discovered in the Villa Spada in 1777.

buildings of the emperors were masses of nameless ruins. Of the Septizonium of Severus alone a beautiful fragment consisting of three rows of columns one over the other still remained.¹ Archaeology has now cleared and classified the ruins on the Palatine; it has enriched scientific knowledge and has brought to light some scanty dregs of treasures of ancient art, but at the same time it has for ever destroyed the poetry of the mediaeval world of ruins.

There are still some places on the Palatine where this feeling of spell-bound solitude has not yet been destroyed by excavation: for instance the deep and silent valley between S. Giorgio in Velabro and the neighbourhood of S. Teodoro and S. Anastasia. Nevertheless the building of streets has already greatly changed this district. In the fifteenth century the Cannapara, which gave its name to a street, still existed.² Between the Palatine and Colosseum some houses were still seen. The triumphal arch of Constantine—preserved as if by miracle—was smothered in ruins, and houses had been built against it. Around it the ground was covered by natural vegetation as far as the Coelian and the Colosseum, round which lay fallen masses of wall resembling rocks. The remains of the

The Arch
of Con-
stantine.

¹ Drawing, in Hülsen, *Das Septizonium des Sept. Sever.*, Berlin, 1886. [Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 183 f.] It was only Sixtus V. who caused these ruins to be destroyed.

² In the *Catastum* in the Archives of S. Sanctor.: *Item unum ortum in Reg. Campitelli in contrata qui dicitur la roccia et cannapara. Inter hos fines cui ab uno latere tenet et est edificium cannapari, ab alio latere—ortus S. Marie de Gallicanis.*

Anibaldi palace still stood beside the Colosseum, and now served as dressing-rooms for the actors in the Passion plays and for some small churches. From the remains of the Meta Sudans, the Via Papalis, along which the Pope made his coronation procession, led to the Lateran.

The Coelian is also one of the parts of Rome where we are still encountered by a breath of mythic solitude. In the fragrant wilderness of its gardens stood then as now the ancient churches of SS. Gregorio, Giovanni and Paolo, Maria in Domenica, Stefano Rotondo, Tommaso in Formis. But of the Claudian aqueduct a greater number of arches remained erect.¹ The street Caput Africae, now SS. Quattro Coronati, appears to have lost its name as early as the end of the fifteenth century.

The
Coelian.

Further on towards the Porta S. Sebastiano stood, aged and tottering, the basilica of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; the gate, however, was still in use. Around stretched a wilderness of gardens filled with ruins, tombs and undiscovered Columbaria, as at the present day.

The families of Campitelli were the Acorari, Albertoni, Alberteschi, Alexii, Bacchini, Baffi, Beccaluna, Bovi, Buccabella, Capizucchi, Cerrotini, Clarelli, Corsi, Crapolo, Cristofori, Delfini, Fara, Felici, Ficozzi, Filipuzzi, Graziani, Gregorii, Lentuli, Mammoli, Marroni, Margani, Mattei, De Mercato, Monaldeschi, Novelli, Numoli, Paolessi, Petruzzii, Persona, Ponziani, Salomoni, De Sanctis, Sarti,

Families in
Campitelli.

¹ It is thus seen in the *Speculum Roman. Magnif.* of the year 1561.

Siconcelli, Sinibaldi, Sordi, Stefanelli, Tartari, Teoderini, Tignosini, Trasi, Vari, Vasci, Vincenzi.

Region IV.,
Campo
Marzo.

Campo Marzo.—Extending from Ponte to the Porta del Popolo and the Pinciana, this region includes the whole plain along the Tiber, Towards the interior of the city it was thickly covered with buildings, but between the Tiber and the Pincio still resembled a field. The street which leads from the Piazza di Spagna through the Corso to the Scrofa had just been begun, and in the sixteenth century was called Via Trinitatis. The Scrofa, so named from the relief of a sow which was even then built into the wall, already led along the river to the Ripetta; and the Via Flaminia, which in its lower part had but few buildings, to the Piazza del Popolo. In the inhabited centre of the Field of Mars stood some ancient churches; the nunnery of S. Gregory of Nazianzen, called after 1564 S. Maria del Campo Marzo, S. Nicolò de' Prefetti, and S. Ivo, the church of the Bretons. Not far from the Scrofa rose the recently-founded hospital of the Portuguese, S. Antonio. On the Via Sistina, which led to the Bridge of S. Angelo, stood S. Lucia Quatuor Portarum or della Pinta, beside a tower of the river-wall which is still preserved. The piazza where the two streets met, now called Nicosia, then bore a different name. It received that of Nicosia from a palace of Aldobrandino Orsini, Archbishop of Nicosia, and a son of the celebrated Nicholas, Count of Pitigliano.

Via della
Ripetta.

The Via della Ripetta led to a little harbour of the Tiber, which had existed for centuries and where boats paid toll. Here began the Sistine quarter

which was now arising. For here round the Mausoleum of Augustus, Sixtus IV. had established a settlement of fugitive Slavonians, and the name Schiavonia was consequently given to the neighbourhood. The Slavonian hospital of S. Girolamo was already erected; in 1500 the church of S. Rocco was built. The remains of the Mausoleum of Augustus were probably used in its construction, but even before this Blondus had seen nothing that remained erect of the imperial building but one solitary arch. Grass grew and cattle pastured over the ruins, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Soderini laid out a beautiful garden. Two broken obelisks remained there—one buried under ruins, the other in the middle of the street in a vigna dei Bufali.¹ For vineyards filled the entire space as far as the Porta del Popolo and the Tiber.

On the other side of the Mausoleum stood the one large building of this part of the Via Flaminia; the hospital of S. Giacomo in Agosta, the foundation of Cardinal Jacopo Colonna of the year 1338. The present hospital Church had not yet been built. On the spot where S. Carlo now stands, the Chapel of S. Nicolò del Tufo then towered amid vineyards. In 1471 Sixtus IV. presented it to the Lombards for the foundation of their hospital of S. Ambrogio, which is united with S. Carlo and still exists. Great numbers of Lombards lived in the Field of Mars and as far as S. Eustachio, and from them a street was called Via Langobarda. This street corresponded to

¹ *In vinca Bufalorum*, Albertini, p. 67. In the Buffalini plan the prostrate obelisk is still represented.

the present Via delle Colonne and led to the Via Trinitatis.¹

Piazza del
Popolo.

The Piazza del Popolo, now one of the finest squares in the world, was then like a field. At the point where it was entered by the Via Flaminia stood the remains of an ancient tomb pyramid, called by the people the tomb of Nero's Mother, by antiquaries that of Marcellus. Paul III. caused the Meta to be destroyed.² The space towards the Pincio was filled with vineyards, but the new church of S. Maria beside the walls already lent importance to the piazza. The Porta del Popolo was already the gate of greatest traffic in Rome. Houses were beginning to arise round it, and in the house de Cinquinis the first German printers established a temporary office.

The traveller standing in the middle of the Piazza with his face towards the Corso saw the three streets opposite him as now, although at their lower end these were nothing more than country roads running between gardens. In the present Via del Babuino only little houses were occasionally seen. The lower part of the Ripetta was called Via del Popolo. The present Piazza di Spagna was a field in the middle of which some houses stood.³

The Pincio.

The Pincio was covered with brushwood, the degenerate descendants of the plants that filled the gardens of Lucullus and Domitian, and they ex-

¹ Thus in Buffalini's plan.

² It is given by Buffalini. S. Maria de' Miracoli was afterwards built on the spot.

³ See the *Speculum Romanæ Magnificentiae*.

tended far down the hill. About 1500 arose the Church of S. Trinità, the monument of Charles VIII. of France. Behind it and beside the city walls stood the remains of a little circular building, similar to the Pantheon, and in the midst of gardens numerous and vast remains of the Villa of Lucullus and the buildings of the Pincii. Close to the walls stood the venerable church of S. Felix in Pincis. The Porta Pinciana still served for traffic, but the whole of the adjacent quarter, which is now filled with streets, palaces and villas of world-wide celebrity, was a ruinous wilderness.¹

The families of Campo Marzo were the Advocati, Affolati, Amati, Baroncelli, Bonjanni, Capranica, Cecchini, Ciotto, Ciuffoli, Collari, Guadagnolo, Lelli Cecchi, Leoni, Leonardi, Macari, Nari, Normanni, Pasci, Patrizii, Pezutelli, Ricci, Rini, Risii, De Roma, Rosolini, Rufini, Silvestri, Spagnoli, Specchi, Trincia, Vari.

Colonna.—The region, whose emblem is the column of Marcus Aurelius, also embraced a great part of the Pincio as far as the Porta Salara, and this formerly splendid quarter of the Gardens of Sallust was as yet unpopulated. A spot called Gyrolus, where an

Families
in the
Campo
Marzo.

Region
III.,
Colonna.

¹ From a Register of the papal treasurer Ambrogio Spanocchi, of the year 1454, I take the following list of gates at which toll was levied: *Porta de sancto Paulo*; *P. Appia e Latina*; *P. Majure*; *P. de S. Lorenzo*; *P. de domina* (i.e., the Salara); *P. Pinciana*; *P. de s. Brancatis*; *P. Portese*. Strange to say the *P. del Popolo* is not mentioned. Formerly in the *Archivio governativo*, afterwards incorporated with the *Archivio di Stato*, newly formed in 1871, and deposited since 1875 in the convent for women of S. M. in Campo Marzo.

ancient broken obelisk lay, was shown. Vines and vegetation covered the present Piazza Barberini and the entire declivity to S. Silvestro in Capite, where everything was a swamp until the time of Eugenius IV. Here, where the arches of the Aqua Virgo still met the eye, the Via Flaminia formed the true boundary of the buildings of the city; for on the nearer side stood only one church known to fame, the ancient convent of S. Silvestro in Capite, around which a scanty population had settled. On the other side stood the two principal churches of this region, S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Maria in Aquiro. S. Lorenzo had been restored in the fifteenth century, and a large palace (the present Palazzo Fiano) had been built near it. The adjoining piazza was called then as now *Platea sancti Laurentii in Lucina*. Close by stood the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, called by the people Trofoli and afterwards del Portogallo, probably from the fact that the Cardinal Costa of Lisbon dwelt in the adjoining palace, which he tastefully decorated. In the early Middle Ages the same arch had been called *tres facicelas*. In the fifteenth century it still gave a street the name of *contrata arcus de trofoli*.

Arch of
Marcus
Aurelius.

Monte
Citorio.

The piazza on which the Palazzo Capranica stands was already called after S. Maria in Aquiro. Monte Citorio or Acceptabili was occupied by gardens, but also by some houses, and here Flavius Blondus lived.¹ The piazza round the great column also wore

¹ In a list of churches of the year 1503 I find *S. Blasii de Monte Acceptulo*.

another aspect; it was narrowed by inconspicuous buildings and was of irregular form. But throughout the entire Middle Ages the splendid column stood isolated, and to this fact owed its preservation.¹ Its base was half buried in the earth, the lower part had suffered serious injuries by contact with passing conveyances. Some churches bearing the surname *ad Columnam* or *de Colonna*, such as S. Lucia and S. Andrea, stood in its neighbourhood.

A street led from the Piazza Colonna to the Piazza di Pietra, which was then called *Platea Presbyterorum*, and where the beautiful columned portico of a splendid building of the Antonines is preserved. The name Pietra arose either from a heap of fragments of marble which was found there, or perhaps more correctly from the word Preti, that is presbyteri. At this period the Church of S. Stefano in Trullo, which had been erected in an ancient building with a cupola, stood upon it.²

The families of the Colonna were the Accorarii, Alberini, Alli, Alzatelli, Andreozzi, Antiochia,³ Arlotti, Battaglieri, Bartoli, Boccacci, Bonazzi, Bucapaduli, Bufalini, Bubali de Cancellariis, Buzi,

¹ See the illustration of the piazza in Sadler.

² *Extat hodie in Martio Campo in Platea Presbyterorum juxta S. Stephanum de trullio Porticus Antonii Pii.* Andr. Fulvius, p. 280. The colossal head of Domitian, which is now in the courtyard of the Conservatori, was found on the Piazza di Pietra.

³ The family of the Antiochia, descended from Frederick II., was still found in Rome. Thus *Caterina uxor quond. Johannis de Antiochia de Regione Columpna* made her will on June 6, 1504: her eldest son was *Carlo de Antiochia*. Book of protocols of the notary Matheus de Taglientibus (Archives of the notaries of the Capitol).

Carosi, Capona, Capoccini, Capranica, De Casalibus, Cefoli, Ceretani, Cimini, Crescenzi, Gracchi, Jacobi, Jordanesci, Juliani, Juvancolini, Malabranca, Mancini, Marcellini, Mei, Miccinelli, Morlupi, Natoli, Normanni, Palosci, Palumbi, Renzi, Roccoli, Romani, Roncione Rufini, Sbonia, Signorili, Simej, Sorici, Stefanelli, Stefaneschi, Spanocchi, Surdi, Tedallini, Tosetti, Treiofani, Tuzi, Valerani, Vanozzi, Vari, Veneramieri, Vulgamini.

Region II.,
Trevi.

Trevi.—This region, which extends from the Porta Salara and the Porta Nomentana to the Corso, now forms one of the most modern parts of the city, but in 1500 the quarter between the Piazza Barberini and the fountain of Trevi did not exist, and only the neighbourhood of SS. Apostoli had been inhabited since ancient times. It was still called the Via Lata. On the Piazza SS. Apostoli (*Platea Apostolorum*), the Church which had been restored by the Rovere, with the convent and the palace of the Colonna, stood on one side, smaller buildings on the other. Here the Cibò also lived. To the side towards the Pilotta dwelt the Muti Papazurri on the site of the palace of this name. Further on towards the Corso and past Trevi stood the now entirely modern quarter. Some ancient churches exist to the present day: SS. Marcello on the Corso, Maria in Via, Nicolò in Arcione, which takes its name from the arches of the Aqua Virgo, and S. Maria in Trivio, called also in Synodo and dei Crociferi, or in Fornica, and ascribed by legend to Belisarius. These and the little church of S. Anastasius were the only churches that stood in the neighbourhood

Platea
Apostol-
orum.

of the Piazza Trevi about the year 1500.¹ Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. had adorned the mouth of the Aqua Virgo with a small reservoir, and this was the modest predecessor of the present grandiose fountain. Fountain
of Trevi. It would appear that fountain, piazza and the entire region took their name from the roads which crossed there. A place was called Lo Treglio from the fort at the fountain, and here antiquaries tried to discover the Lacus Juturnae.² After the construction of the fountain, new life began to centre round the spot; nevertheless at the end of the fifteenth century the district was only coming into existence. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the first splendid palace with gardens arose in the neighbourhood of Trevi. It was built by the Consistorial advocate Bartolommeo de Dossis.³

The families of Trevi were the Amadei, Benivoli, Families
in Trevi. Bonsignore, Buccamazi, Calvi, Capogalli, Cola Lelli, Cola Sabbe, Diotejuti, Frajapani, Griffoni, Lalli, Mancini, Mazallini, Martini, Muti Papazurri, Dello Nero, Normanni, Oderici, Orlandini, Pazzi, Rosa, Schinardi, Taschi, Tedallini, Valentini, Venectini.

¹ The surname *in fornica* is derived from *fornix*, and refers to the *Aqua Virgo*. S. Anastasius, afterwards finished by Cardinal Mazarino, is found mentioned in a MS. register in 1503. The beautiful statue of Phocion, so called in the Vatican, was found beside S. Nicolo in Arcione in 1739.

² *Fabricii Varani de Urbe Roma Collectanea*, ed. Mazocchi. The name of Trevi reaches back to the early Middle Ages. A lease of November 3, 1163, speaks of houses in *Regione Trebii*. (Archives of S. Silvestro in Capite). Then the *Inventarium domor. et possession. hospitalis S. Spiritus* (compiled in 1322, Parchment in the Archives of the hospital).

³ Albertini, p. 74, calls it *perpulchras aedes cum viridario*.

Region I.,
Monti.

Monti.—This, the largest of the regions, takes its name from the north-eastern hills of the city. A part of the Coelian, the Viminal, the Esquiline and the Quirinal lie within its radius. It was bounded by the walls with the gates S. Giovanni, Maggiore and S. Lorenzo, and citywards extended to the Forum and across the Piazza della Colonna Trajana to the Corso. Even now, in proportion to its extent, this district remains the most thinly populated of all. The higher part towards the walls is filled with gardens of such extent that a second Rome might be built within them. Only the spot where the hills descend towards the Forum, more especially the valley of the Subura, had always remained thickly inhabited. Ancient churches formed the centre of the life of the entire quarter.

We pass from the Colosseum to the Lateran through the Via Maggiore of that time, which at its lower end was called the Via Papale. It did not proceed as now in a straight line, but was full of curves, and near S. Clemente passed under an arch of the Aqua Claudia. After the fourteenth century the Roman magistracy endeavoured to people this street and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Confraternity of the Salvator ad Sancta Sanctorum.¹ However, the attempt proved vain. Since the Popes had removed their seat to the Vatican no second papal city could arise in the Lateran.

¹ Decree of the Banderesi of December 20, 1386; of the Conservators of December 6, 1418. (Adinolfi, *Il Laterano e Via Maggiore*, Rome, 1857, Doc. v.): *Quaed. contrada sita in Reg. Montium, ea vid. qua pergitur ad Sacr. Lateran. Ecc. via major vulg. nuncupata.*

Passing upwards from the Colosseum the traveller first arrived at the hospital of S. Giacomo (now a hay shed) and the houses of the Anibaldi in its immediate neighbourhood; then at the so-called house of Pope Joan, where the mythical statue recalled the strangest of all the legends of the Papacy. Next followed the ancient basilica of S. Clemente, after which the wayfarer found on the right the Chapel of S. Maria Imperatrice (beside the Villa Campana). The great hospital stood at the spot where the road reaches the square of the Lateran. The piazza itself was unpaved and like a field. Around it stood ruinous towers of the Middle Ages and still greater ruins of the Aqua Claudia. The Baptistry presented the same aspect that it does now, but the Lateran itself had not assumed its present form. The façade of the ancient church with three Gothic windows and the likeness of the Saviour under the roof stood behind a portico of six columns. The adjacent palace was an irregular pile of buildings extending to Leo's Triclinium and was united with the Chapel Sancta Sanctorum. Before the palace stood the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius, which had been re-erected by Sixtus IV. Eugenius IV. had built a new convent beside the city walls. Instead of the present gate the ancient Asinaria with two towers still survived.

The space between S. Giovanni and S. Croce was filled with gardens, between which only a path led to the ancient church. The whole of the surrounding territory was a wilderness. S. Maria Maggiore itself was only approached by a path which led by

Lateran
Piazza.

SS. Pietro e Marcellino and past several ruins to the Church of S. Matteo, after which the way became broader and was called the Merulana. The present street from S. Croce to S. Maria Maggiore did not yet exist. Within the district deserted churches and monuments stand even now in spell-bound solitude, the Amphitheatrum Castrense, the Nymphaeum of Alexander, the so-called Baths of Caius and Lucius (i Galluzzi, Minerva Medica), S. Bibiana, the reservoir in which stood the so-called Trophy of Marius. Close by was S. Eusebio, and opposite S. Giuliano; in the neighbourhood the Sistine chapel beside the Arch of Gallienus.¹

Thermae
of Dio-
cletian.

The Praetorian camp probably displayed few more ruins than it does now, but a greater mass of building survived in the Baths of Diocletian on the Viminal. The magnificent hall in which S. Maria degli Angeli afterwards arose still retained its upright columns, and the remains of the wainscoting and the basilica of S. Ciriaco in Thermis still survived. The ancient little circular building also, now S. Bernardo, stood isolated and unused. At this point, where the street is continued to the Porta Nomentana, then the Porta di S. Agnese, S. Susanna stood on the confines of the garden of Sallust, but S. Maria delle Vittoria was not yet erected beside it. The ruin-covered slope behind was called il Sallustrico. Here was the boundary of the region

¹ The mediaeval character of the city of Rome, more especially the charm of the deserted tracts on the Esquiline and Viminal, has already (1875) been entirely destroyed by the foundation of new quarters. Were these new buildings but worthy of Rome !

on the Trevi side, and between this and the Barberini palace scarcely any building had yet been begun.

On the Esquiline S. Maria Maggiore formed the centre of a populated district, but not until the time of Sixtus V. was the street made which leads in a straight line from the basilica to the Pincio. Hitherto there had been merely country roads running between gardens and vineyards. The entire quarter round S. Maria Maggiore was still thinly populated. The great basilica with its mosaic façade over a columned portico was surrounded for the most part by uncultivated country. In the time of Andrea Fulvio the church was esteemed the most beautiful in Rome. It was adjoined by a papal palace. Sidewards stood the ancient hospital church of S. Antonio with a doorway, which was the work of the Cosmati, and lower down S. Prassede, beside which Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini had erected a palace. The main entrance to S. Prassede remained in the street, where the ancient atrium still exists.

S. Maria
Maggiore.

This street led to a thickly populated district in the depth of the Subura, while it was bounded on the left by the deserted Carinae, where even now the buildings are but scanty. Here stood the ancient churches of S. Martino, S. Lucia in Selce or in Orphea, further on S. Pietro in Vincoli; behind it an uncultivated tract with the remains of the Baths of Trajan and Titus, especially with the "Sette Sale," where the group of the Laocoon still lay buried. These ruins of the "Sette Sale" were then called *capocie* or *capaces*.¹

S. Martino.

¹ *Ruinae Cisternae Therman. Titi vocantur nunc capaces, i.e.*

Descending the street the territory round S. Martino had been inhabited even in the early Middle Ages; and the remains of the tower of the Capocci still existed there. S. Pietro in Vincoli, with convent and palace, had been built by the Rovere, but around the basilica of Eudoxia lay a waste filled with ruins. Neither the convent of the Armenians, nor the fortress-like building near S. Francesco di Paolo, remained. Only the tower which still exists and whose name is unknown stood erect, and the Cesarini owned a garden and a palace filled with antiquities, more especially with busts of the emperors.¹ Nothing now equals the charm of the solitude of the hill of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and in few places in Rome does the originality of the architectural features awake an equal degree of admiration. More particularly is this the case when, passing through the dark archway, we descend to the Subura.²

The Subura, now the continuation of the Via di

capaces aquarum: Pompon. Laetus, *de vetustate urbis*. *Le capoccie grandissimo edificio sotterra che si dice erano bagni ovvero conservi d'acqua*; thus in Giov. Ruccellai, Report of the jubilee of 1450, edited by Marcotti (*Arch. d. Società Romana*, iv. 579). Other passages in Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom. in Altertum*, 1871, ii. 405, who gives the preference to the form *capociae* (i.e., *capuzzi*, from the form of the building). The name, however, may have had reference to the family of the Capocci.

¹ Adinolfi, *Roma n. e. di Mezzo*, ii. 104 f.

² Tradition places the country house of Vanozza Borgia on this spot, and it is true that she owned a vineyard, which had belonged to the Cesarina, in the neighbourhood of S. Pietro in Vincoli. That the Aedicula of *S. Salvator Trium Imaginum* in the Subura may have been built by Alexander VI. is probable from the fact that a tablet with his coat of arms is built into the wall of the street.

S. Lucia in Selce, still shows many buildings of the Middle Ages; it was not, however, limited to the tract now called Subura, but had long given a name to the entire district. In its midst stood a tower, the *Turris Secura* or *Sebura*, which was only demolished in the time of Andrea Fulvio.¹ The churches of SS. Petri et Marcellini de Sebura, Salvatore alle tre Immagini in Subura, Bartolommeo, Sergius and Bacchus, and Apuleius in Subura still existed.² The quarter Monti was inhabited by a population of different character; they preserved their own dialect and were as distinct from the Romans as the people of Trastevere. Even now the traveller wandering through these deserted streets, where stand the ancient churches of SS. Pudenziana, Vitale, Maria dei Monti, Lorenzo in Paneperna and Sant' Agata in Subura (in former days the Church of the Arian Goths) finds himself in quite another city than Rome. In the sixteenth century an ancient fountain still remained here, called *Puteus Dominae Probae* after Proba, a celebrated Roman lady.³ A street had long been known as Borgo S. Agata. People had begun to build villas in this beautiful and quiet neighbourhood. Cardinals Federigo Sanseverino and Giovanni Medici each owned gardens near S. Agata, the predecessors probably of the Villa Aldobrandini.⁴ A place opposite the ascent to S. Pietro in Vincoli,

¹ *Turris cognomento Secura pro Sebura*: Andr. Fulv., i. 51.

² Concerning the Subura in the Middle Ages, see Adinolfi, *Roma n. e. di Messo*, ii. 74. The diaconates of S. Lucia and S. Agata were called *in capite Suburrae*. It extended on the other side to the Torre di Conti.

³ Andr. Fulv., ii. 132.

⁴ Albertini, p. 87.

called in antiquity *Busta Gallica*, was transformed in the popular dialect into *Portogallo*, and the name was given to a street and several churches.¹

The
Quirinal.

Equally silent and strange was the Quirinal. This classic hill, which was not disfigured until the construction of the modern steps by Pius IX., was for the most part covered by olive-woods, vineyards and ponderous ruins. Some isolated mediaeval buildings also reared their heads, such as the convent of S. Sisto and Domenico, opposite the *Torre delle Milizie*, in the neighbourhood of which stood S. Salvatore de Militia. The *Via Cornelia* (so-called since ancient times from the *Cornelia*) led to the lofty plateau of the Quirinal and to the Baths of Constantine, the huge masses of whose ruins then occupied the spot where the Palazzo Rospigliosi now stands. Here for centuries, preserved as if by miracle, stood the two Horse-tamers, the mythical *Caballi Marmorei* of the Middle Ages, or the *Opus Phidiae*, which had formerly given their name to an entire district and to a noble family, and from which the Quirinal is still called *Monte Cavallo*. They had suffered serious injury and were at this time supported by masonry.² In their neighbourhood, and within the ruins of a hall, still remained

The Horse-
tamers.

¹ *Contrada de Portugallo . . . S. Andrea de Portugallo, S. Marie in Portugallo*, situated towards the Colosseum. This district was also reckoned as included in the Subura. About 1451 we find: *in rione Montium in contrada Suburra vel Turris de Camitibus*: deed in the Archives of Sto. Spirito, v. 8.

² Buffalini notes them as standing beside the Baths; the illustration in Lafrery shows that one horse was still covered up to his head in masonry. [See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 433.]

three statues of Constantine, which are now placed at the top of the steps to the Capitol, also the two recumbent figures of river gods, which Michael Angelo caused to be removed to the steps of the Palace of the Senator. They were strangely believed to represent Bacchus and Saturn.¹

Opposite the baths, in the present Colonna gardens, still stood the beautiful remains of Aurelian's Temple of the Sun, of which only a colossal fragment now lies prostrate. The Colonna had provided it with battlements like a fortress. It formed at this time the corner of a temple and was called *la Mesa* or *il Frontispizio di Nerone*. This monument was reputed to be the Tower of Maecenas, in which Nero played the lyre while he watched the burning of Rome. And here antiquaries placed the gardens of Maecenas and the dwelling of Virgil, and Cardinal Prospero Colonna laid out a garden and pleasure ground for himself.² In the sixteenth century the remains of Aurelian's building were still extensive, but in order to construct the papal stables Innocent XIII. ordered them to be blown up.

Frontis-
pizio di
Nerone.

¹ *Fabricius Varranus de Urbe Roma*, Rome, 1523, also places them in the *Vie Corneliarum* or in *Caballo*, and calls them *una Bacchi, altera Saturni*.

² Picture of the *Frontispizio* in Gammucci, Du Perac and Sadler. The word *Lamesa* or *Turris mesa* is correctly explained by Fulvius, i. 134, by *dimidiata*, while Blondus still interprets it by *Maecenatia*. People also called it *Tor di mesa via*, instead of *messa via*. Nicol. Signorili (Mscr. Vat. 3536, p. 7) extends the name of the monument over the whole Quirinal and says *Mons Quirinalis, qui dicitur hodie Lamesa*. The name is corrupted into *Mensa Neronis* in the *Descriptio Urbis Romae* of L. B. Alberti, De Rossi, *Piante icnogr.*, p. 137, and in the plans of the city in the *Cosmography* of Ptolemaus.

Country
houses
on the
Quirinal.

The healthiness of the air, the enchanting stillness, the mysterious world of ruins with their traditions of Virgil invited philosophers and scholars more especially to make their dwelling on the Quirinal. On the Via dei Cornelii or Caballi stood the houses of Pomponius Laetus and of Platina, afterwards also that of the Lascaris, and here the Roman Academy held its meetings. Further up, and over the descent to Trevi, Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa owned a beautiful house with a garden, in which like Pomponius he collected inscriptions. Cardinal Stefano Ferreri also built a villa on the Quirinal (1502-1510), and beside it stood the villa of Ulisse of Fano, celebrated for its beautiful grounds.¹ Gardens and Caraffa's villa occupied the spot where the huge palace of the Quirinal with its adjoining buildings has stood since the time of Gregory XIII. The churches on this hill were few and insignificant; S. Andrea de Caballo, Saturninus in Caballo and Salvator de Corneliis.²

The present straight street from the Quirinal to the Porta Pia was made by Pius IV., who caused the ancient Porta Nomentana to be demolished. About 1500 this road, the remains of the Alta Semita, followed an irregular course between walls and hedges to the Porta S. Agnese.³

¹ Albertini, p. 87.

² S. *Silvestro a Monte Canallo* first appears in 1524. Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*.

³ The *Via di Porta Pia* is the first street which the Italians re-christened in Rome, their new capital. It is now called the *Via Venti Settembre*. It will be a lamentable thing if the new civic authorities sacrifice the devotion due to the names of the streets,

From the Quirinal the wayfarer proceeded along the Via Magnanapoli to the Forum Trajanum beside the still massive remains of the so-called baths of Aemilius Paulus, which were not yet entirely covered with buildings. This Forum already lay buried thirty feet in dust; the pedestal of the magnificent column was entirely hidden. The splendid buildings of Trajan and Hadrian were nameless piles of rubbish, with here and there a projecting ruin. In 1494 the pedestal of the statue of the poet Claudian was discovered there, and Pomponius Laetus had the good fortune to acquire it.¹ Some little churches stood near or on the Forum, thus S. Maria in Carleo, which has only been demolished within our time, S. Urbano which endured until 1812, and the destroyed convent churches of S. Eufemia and Spirito Santo. S. Nicolò de Columna appears to have perished about 1500, but the little church of S. Andrea survived with the suffix de Biberatica, which was also borne by a street.² Somewhere in the middle of the Forum stood the tower of the Foschi de Berta, an old German family.

The Via di S. Maria in Carleo, or Spolia Christi, led to the ruins of the Forum of Nerva, which were at this time very large. For in front of the half-sunk remains of the Portico, which was called the Forum of Nerva, which have become historic and monumental, to an often merely ephemeral love of novelty.

¹ In 1813 the pedestal of the statue of Merobaudes was also found there. *Röm. Stadtbeschr.*, iii. i. 283.

² *Contrada Scte Andree de Biberatica* (in the neighbourhood of SS. Apostoli), I find it thus called in the *Catastrum Societatis Ssmi Salvatoris*, in the Archives S. Sanctor., compiled about 1410.

Forum of
Augustus.

Colonnacce or Tempio di Pallade, lay the greater ruins of a temple strangely called by the people Arca di Noë. There also stood the Church of S. Maria de Arca Noë founded by the Anibaldi, and the piazza in front was still called Platea Arca Noë in the fifteenth century. The arch of entrance to the Forum of Nerva still remained erect and was called Aurea. This monument was only destroyed by Paul V.¹ The Forum of Augustus with the black wall that surrounded it probably looked much as it does now; it was, however, marshy. The arch of entrance beside the Temple of Mars was called the Arco de' Pantani. It led to the ancient church of S. Quirico and to the Torre de' Conti, which was higher than at present. This tower had already long given a name to the street.

In the fourteenth century within the ruins of the Forum of Augustus had been built the Convent of the Annunziata, which took the place of an ancient church, S. Basilio or *in scala mortuorum*, and thence the wayfarer ascended to the Palazzo de' Conti (now del Grillo) and again up to the Quirinal.

From the Forum Trajanum roads led, as they still lead, to the Salita di Marforio and S. Marco.

¹ See the illustration in Gammucci, p. 55, where three great Corinthian columns still support an entablature with the inscription *Imp. Nerva. Caesar. Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. II. Imp. II. Procos.* Still better are the illustrations in Du Perac and in Sadler. Adinolfi, *Roma di Mezzo*, ii. 58, is wrong in asserting that the *arco de' pantani* was called Arca Noë. For in the inscriptions of Signorili (De Rossi, *Le prime raccolte*, n. 17) it is expressly said: *Epit. scriptum in oratorio Nervae in loco qui dicitur corrupto vocabulo Arca Nos, ad honorem Nervae.*

There were seen standing erect the remains of the arch of the Hand of Flesh (*Manus Carneae*), in which antiquaries tried to discover the Palace of the Corvini. Another street led from the Forum to the Platea Apostolorum; the two churches with cupolas did not, however, then exist, and in their place were probably only unimportant houses, close to which arose the tower of the Colonna for the protection of the adjoining palace.

The families of Monti were the Acorari, Anibaldi, Angilelli, Amadeschi, Arcioni, Buonsignori, Cagnoni, Calvi, Capocci, Capogalli, Capomastri, Carboni, Carari, Cenci, Cerroni, Colejanni, Colonna, Conti, Corradi, Dammari, del Forno, Fusci de Berta, Graziani, Grifonetti, Infessura, Iperini, Lalli, Lupelli, Luzi, Macarozzi, Maccaroni, Mancini, Mántaca, Marcellini, Masci, Migni, Mei, Negri, Nisci, Novelli, Palelli, Palocchi, Paparoni, Particappa, Pedacchia, Petrucci, Pirroni, Ponziani, Portii, dello Preite, Primicerii, Rossi, Salvati, Satolli, Scutti, Silvestri, Sinibaldi, Stefani, Subbatari, Surdi, Tartari, Tasca, Valentini, Venectini, Venturini. ^{Families in Monti.}

With the literary documents concerning the topography of Rome, from which the description of the city about 1500 has been compiled, was associated in the fifteenth century a series of pictorial plans. It has been observed that the first plan of the city now known to us belonged to the thirteenth century and the time of Innocent III. About 1270 Cimabue painted his memorable view of Rome in a fresco in the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, and this is the oldest representation of the city that bears a fixed

date.¹ The fourteenth century is represented by the beautiful symbolical figure of Rome on the gold bull of Lewis the Bavarian. With the Renaissance awoke the necessity of a fresh graphic representation of the city; the antiquarian studies of Cyriac, Blondus and Leon Battista Alberti greatly advanced the iconography of the city of Rome. While some artists measured the monuments, others drew plans of the city, in which they depicted its ancient as well as its Christian features. With these plans cosmographies or chronicles of the world were provided. Manuscripts of Dittamondo of Fazio degli Uberti and the cosmography of Ptolemy of the fifteenth century contain plans of Rome; another is added to a chronicle of the world which Leonardo da Basozzo, a Milanese, adorned with miniatures, in the first third of the same century. Painters also depicted Rome in frescoes; thus Taddeo di Bartolo about the year 1414 in a chapel of the Palazzo Communale at Siena, and Benozzo Gozzoli about 1465 in S. Agostino at San Giminiano.²

In these iconographies the antiquarian principle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still

¹ Strykowski, *Cimabus und Rom.*, Vienna, 1848. His opinion that this plan of the city remained the prototype of all other plans of Rome until the fifteenth century is unfounded.

² De Rossi first collected the mediaeval plans of Rome in the *Piante Incografiche . . . di Roma*, with atlas, Rome, 1879. As supplements, E. Müntz published the plan of Benozzo Gozzoli and others; Stevenson the plan of Taddeo di Bartolo (*Bull. della Comm. Arch. Com. di Roma*, 1881); and I that of Basozzo (*Lincci*, April 15, 1883, and *Kleine Schriften*, ii.). Compare Guoli, *Bull. com.* 1884, and E. Müntz, *Les Antiquités de la ville de R. aux 14. 15. et 16. siècles.* Paris, 1886.

prevails, for their object was to systematically illustrate the main character of ancient and Christian Rome. The monuments are consequently isolated, and no attention is paid to the complex of the city, with its various quarters and blocks of buildings. Not until the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next did bird's-eye views of Rome appear. A plan of such a kind is found in the chronicle of the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel, which was printed in 1493.¹ On a large scale is the curious illustrated plan of Rome, executed on linen *in tempera*, which is in the possession of the civic museum at Mantua. It was made between 1490 and 1538, probably after a design that belonged to the school of Leon Battista Alberti.²

¹ Fr. Lippmann, *Der ital. Holzschnitt im 15. Jahr.*, Berlin, 1885, p. 46, has shown that Schedel's plan is taken from the one published in 1490 in the *Supplementum chronicarum*.

² This plan, discovered by Portioli in Mantua, was published by the Italian government on the Jubilee of the Archaeological Institution in Rome in 1879.

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